1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan SH6

622, 754, 755, 776, 787, 789, 791, 793, 874

[Information on various aspects of Yahgan culture which are closely related to the characteristics and activities of the yékamuš or medicine-man, including his training, role as a community leader, curer, sorcerer, and custodian of religious lore, have been marked for category 756 and will be found under that classification.]

/707 cont./

844 immediate surroundings are quiet; small children are either sent far away or held in check; finally, all the dogs are forcibly kept silent.

From the day of delivery both parents (p. 498) must very conscientiously observe the regulations familiar to everyone. The mother refrains from taking any kind of nourishment for the entire day. This assures her of a good delivery and the future well-being of her child. For his part, the man may neither fell heavy wooden beams in the forest nor kill large game animals. He may neither break open the bones of birds to get out the marrow nor crush the shell of the sea urchin. In case he should fell decayed trees or split wood, his child would have an open wound on its breast. If he should break apart the wing bones of birds, the arms of his child would also break; if he should pluck out the feathers of a bird, his child would soon lose its hair. On the day of the birth he is just as
844 restricted in his choice of foods as his wife is on this and the follow-
262 ing days. She is permitted to eat again on the day after her confinement, but at first by no means everything. She limits herself to fish, as well as čapuf (Mytilus chilensis), kečójn (Mytilus edulis), and amúšu (Fissurella). She is not permitted the many other lower sea animals. These mussels must come from "good" places [in the magical sense], in other words, not from places where one suspects
[776 the lakúma /water spirit/ might be nor from places where there are
825] many cormorants and sea lions. It seems to me that the magical fear comes from the fact that these animals do not play a favorable role in mythology. A single species of duck, namely, Mareca sibilatrix, also belongs to the "good" things. On the other hand, the meat of the sea duck, déška (Tachyeres patachonicus), is forbidden. When things to be eaten are unavailable or not present
844 in sufficient quantities, the yékamuš /shaman/ must help out.
262 Stretching out both hands, he gathers up the "bad and harmful,"
783 /708/ holds it for a moment on his open palms and, with a strong puff of air from his mouth and a softly uttered "ft," blows it away. Now the food has been freed of everything "dangerous" and is no longer harmful.

851 Directly after the child has been separated from its mother, the woman who has been the midwife goes out of the hut and sends a message to the father by anyone who is available that a boy or a

/742 cont./

861 | adult status. That is why all older people regard /743/ the
183 training of youth as an obligation, and no one shies away from it out of laziness. The adults influence the young people by means of instruction and admonition, at least by setting a good example, and they are solicitous about their physical well-being and the perfection of their character and morals. No one -- with the exception of a few who are remiss in their duties -- tires of always exerting his best efforts to make the child a valuable member of the tribe, one who will benefit the group as a whole. Since this was always customary among their ancestors, responsible adults now make no exceptions with regard to this duty, for ancient custom is to this day their law.

861 | Since Nature herself has established the parents as the first qualified teachers, they devote themselves to their task with all their love and ability. They are guided by their concern for the welfare of their child. Anyone who is skilled in all kinds of manual work can easily make a living, and a person who knows how to behave and adopts a way of life that will make him liked by all his neighbors is in a pleasant position. Parental pride also spurs them on a bit, for it is a great satisfaction to everyone to have his children praised as industrious and good. Less clearly than for the celebration of the youth initiation, but definitely
[776] enough, conscientious parents are charged by Hidáhgan, their only deity, with the duty of rearing their children. For primitive people like our Yamana, there is no stronger pressure for efforts at guidance than religious sanction.

Besides the parents, adults in general are required to promote the training of all children, with less urgency, however. If the former neglect their duty or have died, the nearest relatives are obliged to offer the poor child what he needs without any formalities. In fact, every person, whoever he may be, is obliged to give a child help whenever it is needed and to deal with a bad deed wherever he may observe it. No Yamana would say, "This or that child is no concern of mine." He feels an urgent need to help if he sees that a child is suffering physical injury or that its training is being neglected. The individual adult acts on behalf of the child from a feeling of tribal solidarity and in the service of the general welfare. More often than a European realizes, he openly expresses these considerations upon which he acts.

/766 cont./

R. | direction soon scatters them. Anyone who does not get up in the morning after a vigorous shake has his leather cover pulled off so that he lies naked and soon gets up because of the cold. If a few rascals disturb the conversation of adults by their chatter or if they even presume to interrupt, they are sent out of the hut with a few sharp words. A child with the habit of being obtrusive at meals is dismissed with an inferior piece while the other people enjoy delectable tidbits. No occasion irritates adults as much as when they happen to come upon a boy hidden with a girl. Then rude blows rain down /767/ on the little sinner, either with the flat of the hand or a stick of wood, wherever and however they happen to fall, until he seeks refuge in hasty flight (183).

> 183. The Fuegian punishes the child to make it pay for its mistake. Bridges' interpretation of April 21, 1878, is wrong: "The native never punishes his child because he has done wrong, but because he has troubled him, or to please those who may be angry with him, or he expresses his vexation towards any who have displeased him by wreaking it upon his innocent child" /cited in English/ (SAM:IX, 214;1878).

After that the adults keep a sharp eye on him.

The severest punishment for the child is to have its parents send it away or make it leave the hut. Hot tears flow amid loud sobbing, until finally, after the prolonged torture of loneliness, the little culprit is called into another woman's hut where he is left to himself without the least encouragement. On the following day or even earlier he slips back to the parental hut, ashamed and fearful, and crouches quietly by himself to avoid provocation for renewed banishment. If the punishment is combined with loud scolding on the part of the parents, as happens on rare occasions, the little rogue seems weak with shame which he is unable to conceal for days.

● [776] The adults now and then weave references to Hidigan into their teachings. I was definitely assured of this, but unfortunately I did not write down the exact words.

x 881 867

/869 cont./
shout and make a great fuss about it; sometime he will realize his mistake.

"Do not cease really loving your husband and willingly doing all kinds of work for him: then he will like you, too, and also take good care of you.

"If the family [from which you come] is large and your brothers /870/ and uncles are very much esteemed by people because they are capable, do not preen yourself about it and do not unduly boast about it, for others would misconstrue this.

"If you want to live peaceably and happily with your husband, do not constantly quarrel with him. Be quiet if he has an opinion that differs from yours; later he will probably realize his mistake.

[176] "Watch out for Watau̯inéi̯wa /the supreme being/, never forget about him. If you are dull and slow and lazily neglect your work, if you do not get up betimes in the morning, he will look at you; then it will soon be over with you (290). And do not

290. A favorite saying which we shall mention below expresses the same thing: "The Supreme Being will punishingly cast his eye on you and destine you to a premature death." In a later section such sayings will be more specifically explained.

forget what the ušwā́ąla often said in the morning here in the čiḗ̜xau̯s hut when they got up early and stepped out: 'hā́ia yā́rum ušwā́a̭la [kī́pa] hā́i, wā́s (291)!' That is what akā́čix (292) did also.

291. This means: "Come on, we are now candidates, come on!"

825 173

292. Turdus magellanicus, the Magellanic thrush. The reference to the thrush has the following meaning. Once upon a time this bird was also a candidate in the youth initiation where it learned to get up early every morning. It has practiced this good habit so faithfully that on all subsequent occasions up to the

/883 cont./

X 881
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Toward the end of my first initiation, old Alfredo repeated to me the words which he had just stressed to one of the ušwā́a̦la alone:

"If later on you do not follow the precepts which we have given you here in the čiḗxaus, we shall not stand in your way, for now you are big [have come of age] and independent. It is up to you, personally and privately, to keep our precepts and teachings or not [when you are by yourself]. But do not imagine that you will always get off without punishment. The one-up-there [Watauinéiwa] [776] still sees you and will punish you with an untimely death. If he does not punish you personally right away, he will let your children die and then you will be all alone" (306).

306. Later on I shall discuss in detail how through the instructions to the candidates in the Great Hut I became acquainted for the first time with the religious ideas of the Yamana, especially with their Supreme Being, without completely understanding all this immediately. At that time any kind of discussion was impossible for me.

X 881
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In conclusion I give here the first part of an address by blind Whaits in the late evening of March 12, 1922. He addressed the ušwā́a̦la, including myself, in an impressive, soft voice as we sat in a semicircle on the ground in front of him, attentive and thoughtful:

"In olden times a man left the čiḗxaus hut and went a short distance away. Outside he died. Later another man found him dead /884/ and told about it in the Great Hut. Then the people said to him: 'Why did you not bring this dead man in?' He replied: 'That one is dead forever. He must remain under the earth. It is Yetáita!'

"Now I want to tell you ušwā́a̦la everything that I was taught and I shall tell you all the secrets that I know. Carefully guard these confidential words and do not say anything about it to those who do not yet know the čiḗxaus. Everything that goes on here is an important matter, and no one may divulge any of it. Just as we [adults] and all the old people of former times have

/893 cont./

X 881 wean him from the habit of comfort and softness.

867 Punishment is meted out either by the leader or the sponsor. The parents of the one who is being punished, who are present, would never take sides with their child against the rigors or against false condemnation, for as ušwáala in the čiéxaus hut, their child is beyond their particular jurisdiction.

Whatever a candidate must endure through the tortures
X 881 mentioned above is felt directly and very painfully, but reference
869 to the Supreme Being, to Watauinéiwa, is of higher moral value
776 as a foundation for the prevailing order and respect for the whole
čiéxaus institution. Watauinéiwa is regarded as the originator of the youth initiation and hence the stern guardian of everything that takes place there. The leader specifically spoke of this several times to the candidates at the very beginning: "Everything that goes on here in the čiéxaus is not a Yamana affair (317); it comes from /894/ Watauinéiwa! He made known to our ancestors how we should celebrate the čiéxaus! We conform to that very precisely, because he watches closely!" In the last analysis, anyone who is guilty of negligence acts in opposition to the institution created by Watauinéiwa himself. Therefore his name is constantly interwoven with the admonitions and is even mentioned in connection with the most serious punishment, namely, untimely death. Here in the initiation the adults teach the ušwáala sincere piety. Usually here for the first time Watauinéiwa presented to them as the great law-giver and the avenger of all evil. The training in the čiéxaus rests on this religious idea. Every candidate is supposed to become familiar with this idea here, so that in his later life and action it can be a support and a warning, a guide and orientation. "Watauinéiwa čikája kalakanáa sakumášu (the 'old-one-up-there' watches you, you sluggard [and will let you die])!" The veneration that is due the Supreme Being keeps the Yamana here, too, from repeating his name more

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317. This means that the initiation was neither invented nor arbitrarily shaped by the Yamana, but that its actual originator is the Supreme Being mentioned.

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x 881
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often than is absolutely necessary (318). No matter from what point of view one regards the training procedures of our Yamana, he must judge them as surprisingly purposeful and intelligent. They have a thorough understanding of human nature, and they make use of it in their treatment of young people.

5. Myths and Tales. The above statements unequivocally bring out the close connection between religious faith and moral obligation in the youth initiation. Watauinéiwa, a personality who has been familiar to the candidates from childhood, is presented to them here as the one from whom not only many obligations originate, but also the institution of the čiéxaus.

In contrast to this are the oft-repeated, conspicuous references to the so-called evil spirit, known as Yetáita. Heretofore the boys and girls have learned nothing about him, for he is as a threatening apparition. As we know, a younger man appears in the role of Yetáita, amid the yelling and howling of those present, directly after the candidate has been led into the Great Hut, and the candidate is dreadfully frightened at the very beginning of the affair. This apparition struggles with the chap and torments him until he is completely exhausted. When he is trembling in every limb and is unable to offer any resistance, he is induced to look more closely, whereupon he recognizes a person familiar to him, one of his /895/ kinsmen who will henceforth remain at his side

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318. Again one should remember that it is not here in the initiation that the candidates first become acquainted with the Supreme Being. They have often heard his name before in their family circle, and on other occasions, too, they have had their attention called to his personality. Belief in Watauineiwa is a general concern of the whole tribe, from which even immature children are not excluded. For example, everyone, even every young person, is freely admitted to the great ceremonies of mourning at which everyone's attention is temporarily directed to the Supreme Being.

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881 869 176 as his sponsor (p. 701). This candidate and the other uswaala now hear in so many words: "The one who appeared here in the shape and outward guise of Yetaita is not really this evil spirit. Yetaita is far worse and more dangerous. Beware of him: he takes everyone who is insubordinate and disobedient!"

In the course of the admonitions given to each candidate, the teacher at first repeatedly threatens them with this apparition. The favored wording is: "Be obedient, comply carefully with everything we charge you to do here in the Great Hut, otherwise Yetaita will cause your untimely death!" A no less frequent warning is: "Beware of Yetaita who is always watchful. If he sees that you are lazy and indolent, he will make you completely exhausted and you will die!" Punishment by this evil spirit is also predicted in case a candidate talks about the things that go on in the ciexaus hut and betrays them to minors.

In collusion with a sponsor, a man will inconspicuously knock on the ground. Immediately the sponsor will ask his protégé: "Did you hear Yetaita down there in the earth?" Full of terror, the candidate says he did. Sometimes his face is meanwhile covered with a scrap of leather and then the knocking becomes even more mysterious. He is made to believe that Yetaita is bumping his head from below against the layer of earth directly under the place where the candidate is sitting or under the Great Hut in general, and that is his knocking.

The people outside the Great Hut, like the candidates, are also kept in check by the threat: "Yetaita will devour anyone who approaches our Great Hut or who acts disrespectfully!" They are likewise taught that whatever anyone carries into the hut in the way of food is immediately devoured by Yetaita. Outsiders therefore believe that this evil spirit exercises unlimited power in the Great Hut and is very much to be feared (319).

[171] 319. In view of this, "Yetaita" is very much like an omnipotent female spirit known as "Xalpen," who in the Kloketen ceremony of the Selk'nam men rules everything and every individual with ruthless great power (Vol. I, 916). Among the Yamana, however, these threats are directed only toward children, for

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X 881
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the few adults who remain behind in the camp to supervise them know all about Yetai̯ta and the food in the Great Hut.

Whoever enters the čiḗxau̯s hut is hailed with a loud call of hṓ ho ho. This tells the people outside in the camp: "This person disappears into the Great Hut and falls completely under the power of Yetā́i̯ta!" These shouts are repeated in the same manner when wood or food is brought into the Great Hut; they say: "All these things are for Yetā́i̯ta who confiscates them for himself."

The following custom is also intended for the candidates. At long intervals, usually after an excited dance by all the participants, /896/ the leader violently hurls himself flat on the ground, props up his face with his hands flat and turned up, and with unusual force yells a howling sound against the ground. This is supposed to signify that Yetā́i̯ta has been driven so far away from this place that it is as though he were dead. Nevertheless, the ušwā́a̯la must continue to fear this evil spirit, for he will return. Occasionally during the dance when the adults move upright back and forth, they will also ward off Yetā́i̯ta by means of circular motions with their hands flat and arms outstretched. At the same time their heads are bent toward the ground and their eyes stare fixedly at the ground. Afterwards they act freer, as though relieved, as though they had rendered this evil earth-spirit harmless and pushed him off far into the distance.

It is difficult to determine the exact significance of Yetā́i̯ta in the general world of ideas of the Yamana, for his personality is variously conceived by this person or that one. I talked in detail about it with Chris, but I could not find out whether his conception is shared by the majority. He explained: "Our ancestors demanded with extraordinary strictness that the ušwā́a̯la observe all the rules of the čiḗxau̯s. They were emphatically warned against talking about their experiences in this Great Hut and threatened with serious punishment by Yetā́i̯ta who lives in the earth. The very fact that we tread on the same earth brings each of us very close to him. We shall never be able to lift ourselves up into the air and live up there. We are glued to the earth, as x881 /896 cont./

869 776 it were. A person who disregards what we tell him, who becomes lazy and bad, will have something like earth sticking to him. This something will make him weak, dull, tired, and he will die in a very short time. Everyone who reveals the happenings in the čiéxaus hut can expect the same [fate]. Our ancestors used the following example: 'Behold the cormorants! There they sit pressed close together on high rocks along the shore. They are also conducting their čiéxaus. They discuss their way of life and their duties, each one adjusts to them. Thus they live together (320) and find their food. When their young leave the nest as fledglings, they at first follow their parents for a while. Later they enter their čiéxaus, where they are taught and are attentive. If a young one stays behind and does not join its parents, it does not find anything to eat by itself. It does not learn properly how to obtain food; it becomes weak, cannot follow the others [the adult birds], and soon perishes. After all, they must be obedient and follow everything faithfully, then their life is secure and they have enough to eat, they are gay and happy. In the same way the ušwáala must let themselves be taught by the old people and must adjust to everything [to all regulations].'

320. This means that their life together is possible and their living assured on the basis of dutiful, definite conduct. -- It is extraordinary for the Yamana that reference is made here to an example from the animal kingdom.

x881 869 776 198 "But a person who pays no attention to this is, as we have said, punished by Yetáita /897/ and taken away by him [through an untimely death]. It is good to implant the fear of him in the candidates! For now they will more faithfully follow all the teachings and will live as good, industrious human beings. That is why they are often threatened with this villain! Finally the ušwáala believe that he is really present. The old people strengthen this belief of the candidates by all kinds of delusions. For example, they pretend that Yetáita makes his voice heard (321). This

321. This is done in the following way. A man places himself flat on the ground and leans his face

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> against his hands which rest on his little fingers and encircle his mouth. This creates a small hollow space into which he yells a long drawn-out, howling sound. At a slight distance this sound seems to come from the interior of the earth.
>
> Sometimes this howling is interrupted by a quick drumming on the ground with both fists. While this hocus-pocus is going on, all those present remain motionless. Beforehand the heads of the candidates have been covered with a scrap of leather.

helps to increase their fear and terror. Later, if they take part in an initiation, they plainly see (322) that such calls only come

> 322. Now, as adults, they are fully qualified participants who may carefully examine everything that takes place.

from the men, who in this way conjure up Yetáita for the ušwáala. This realization does not destroy anything for them now, for they are already on the right path, which they will follow in the future also" (323).

> 323. This is supposed to mean that the fear and terror implanted earlier in the candidate through the appearance of this evil spirit were not without effect, but put him so firmly on the right path that he will not deviate from it even when he recognizes the true nature of this scary device.

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I should like to insert here a remark for which I am indebted to old Whaits. He pointed out that one must respectfully esteem all the decrees of the čiéxaus. "A person who does not hold this opinion is devoured by Yetáita who sits in the earth. We teach outsiders this wholesome fear so that they will not approach the Great Hut; we threaten that they will be seized by this spirit.

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X 881
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It is necessary to create fear, for a person who is made to be afraid will carefully observe the prevailing rules. That is why we often refer to Yetái̯ta!"

After Chris expressed his view, I set forth my misgivings: "Why do the old people emphasize a fear of Yetái̯ta, when in reality it is Watau̯inéi̯wa who really punishes?" He replied: "In olden times much more than now the fear of Watau̯inéi̯wa was inculcated, for he is always the mightiest one, that is, much stronger than Yetái̯ta. The latter appears in the kína. The participants of the kína celebration maintain that he lives in the earth and devours human beings (324). That is why [in modern times] we implant fear of Yetái̯ta in the candidates of the či̯éxau̯s. In olden times here in the či̯éxau̯s, fear of Watau̯inéiwa was impressed on the ušwáala, for he /898/ is the mightiest. Yetái̯ta is also called tánuwa (325); that is the name for Watau̯inéi̯wa. They are one and the same, only now we say they are different persons" (326). I inquired further: "How can you reconcile that,

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324. In the men's secret ceremony the Selk'nam maintain the same thing about Xalpen, the female, omnipotent spirit (see footnote 319).

325. The meaning is "my dear old man"; according to BD:421, also "(My) father, my old man" /cited in English/ (in the familiar sense). BD adds by way of supplement: "A being personified in the ceena [kina] drama, was supposed to come up out of the earth, he was an old man and did not come forth and leap about but lay still in the ceena and beat the earth and brayed" /cited in English/.

326. Unfortunately I could not find out whether Chris was expressing a general opinion. If so, we can see in his words the confusion that a later body of ideas brought into the previously

X 881
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> pure conception of the Supreme Being. Some misgiving about this explanation arises from the fact that Chris saw the men's secret ceremony for the first time along with me in the year 1922.

since Wataṷinéi̯wa is after all in heaven? He is called 'the one up there,' 'the old one in heaven,' and so forth" Chris was not at a loss for the answer: "Certainly Wataṷinéi̯wa is up there. He looks down from up there, however, and he punishes here on earth. So he is also on the earth! He reaches and punishes every lazy and good-for-nothing human being. In recent times the Whites have told us that there is a devil (327). Now we say

> 327. Later Chris said, by way of supplement: "This devil is also harmful to human beings and punishes them, so the Whites say, although there is, after all, a God."

Yetā́i̯ta, as though he were different from Wataṷinéi̯wa; in olden times, you see, both were the same."

I am indebted to Calderon for the following clear summary. Without being asked, he explained: "Here in the Great Hut we constantly repeat to the ušwā́ḁla: 'Down there in the earth lives Yetā́i̯ta with his wife. Beware of him!' He is not fully made known to the young people until they are [mentally] mature, that is, when they have come to the čiéxau̯s for the third time (328).

> 328. The first and second time they take part as candidates and are encouraged in a false belief. It is only afterwards, as full-fledged members, that they may follow each action with open eyes.

To threaten the candidates with Yetā́i̯ta has its advantages! We do not tolerate a ne'er-do-well among us, one who gets up late [in the morning], who does not work, who is a burden to others. We say: 'Yetā́i̯ta will soon take away such good-for-nothings!'

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X881 869 776 In order to give strong emphasis to the admonitions, Yetáita is mentioned again and again.

"Of course, besides that, there is also Hidábuan; he is the strong one who actually punishes. Everyone must be particularly careful of him. But all that is taken for granted and that is why Hidábuan is less frequently mentioned in the čiéxaus (329).

329. "Hidabuan," like "Watauineiwa," is a name for the same Supreme Being.

Here we want to make our teachings and admonitions to the candidates effective; that is why we threaten them with Yetáita. Our men give all the calls that the ušwáala attribute to him. The young chap takes this into consideration after he enters the Great Hut for the third time, but previous to that, out of fear of Yetáita, he has been set upon the right course [of fulfilling his duty]. Later he is told that only men produce these calls. Then he says to himself: /899/ 'Hitherto I thought Yetáita called out from the earth!' Nevertheless, he remains on the good path, to which he has by now become accustomed."

[885] After the candidates have been dismissed from the second youth initiation they are legally adults. In general, except on special occasions, they do not receive further instructions or exhortations. Hence Yetáita is not mentioned outside the čiéxaus hut.

X881 869 773 538 In the mythology of the Yamana the tales concerning the actual bearers of culture, named Yóalox, and their family have a special place (330). In olden times this name was scarcely ever mentioned to immature youths before their initiation (p. 178 /untranslated/); the girls heard it for the first time on the occasion of

330. Here we should say in anticipation that among these Fuegians he embodies what the hero "Kwanyip" does for the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 581). Both have created important institutions and prescribed the norm of life, so to speak.

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b. The Right of Possession

421 The Yamana recognize actual possessions as personal property, aside from a few common possessions. Institutions and principles pointing to pure communism are completely absent. They are familiar with several titles for the right of possession, which we must now discuss, after having described the actual forms of property. In this respect, too, our Yamana agree almost completely with the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 434). The recog-
[171] nized legal titles are as simple and clear as the forms of the possessions of this tribal society.

1. Right of the Supreme Being as Creator

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776 Later on we shall speak of the religious convictions of the Yamana, which culminate in the recognition of a Supreme Being. Common names applied to this being are Wataṷinéi̯wa, "the /973/ ancient one," and Hidā́bṷan, "my father." He is lord over all visible things and their supreme owner. The compound term Wataṷinḗi̯wa-sī́rž, which is often used, evidently means: the sī́rž, or thing in the sense of property, of Wataṷinéi̯wa (386). Practically everything visible and tangible, without reservation, is regarded by our Fuegians as Wataṷinḗi̯wa-sī́rž; therefore the Supreme Being is the owner of visible creation.

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825 Among all that has been created, the necessary daily food is the most important for our Indians. Heading the list are the game animals hunted by the man and the many lower animals which the woman gathers. Although the individual exerts himself personally for these, it is nevertheless as though he first had to ask permission from Wataṷinḗi̯wa for each piece, hence his repeated request in actual prayers to the Supreme Being for the things he needs for his subsistence. In this procedure there is a faint hint that Wataṷinḗi̯wa will benevolently give each human being some of that which he

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386. BD:379 interprets this word with: "tools, implements, vessels, toys, goods, property, things in general" /cited in English/.

/973 cont./
421 alone has the right to distribute. The Yamana accepts the slain
825 animal and every other thing as a gift voluntarily bestowed by the
776 Supreme Being; consequently he does not fail to thank his deity expressly for this now and then.

The Yamana have the same idea in mind when they say that everyone should kill and gather only as many animals as are needed for the moment. Beyond that it is punishable to destroy wantonly and aimlessly a number of animals which are not used in the household and which finally putrify. With this restriction they first of all want to check senseless waste of useful animals, but they do not overlook the fact that in such action there is also a violation of the primary property right which belongs only to Watauinéiwa. It is said that he voluntarily lets each individual Yamana have exactly as much as he needs for subsistence, and he punishes a person who, over and above that, wantonly destroys something of his.

If there is a ceremony for the dead or if, on another occasion, someone gives expression to his grief, he sometimes, in self-justification, lets the Supreme Being know that all his life long he has never illicitly, that is, through misuse, laid violent hands on animals which were made available to him for his own subsistence. If anyone has really done wrong in fits of anger and has given vent to his rage by unjustifiable destruction of many animals, he is soon remorseful and begs sincerely for the forgiveness of Watauinéiwa because /974/ of the harm he inflicted upon him. Sometimes an excited person will threaten Watauinéiwa with specific words, thus wishing to avenge himself for some misfortune, saying that he is going to slay masses of his living animals in order to harm him greatly. In these condemnations the deity is clearly set forth as the owner of available material goods, among which animals are regarded as primary.

The Yamana do not give a definite reason why the Supreme Being has the legal title to all creation, primarily all animals. Nevertheless, this idea lives very clearly and definitely within them and serves as a guide for their actions. We shall speak of supplementary details in our description of their form of religion.

/1003 cont./
183 within a common society. As a matter of principle, no one claims an exemption for himself. If in some situation he occasionally lets himself be led astray from the path of recognized duty by passion or by the weakness of his nature, he himself clearly feels that he has made a mistake and is doing wrong. The disapproval of his wrong-doing by the members of the tribe who learn about it also has a definite effect on him. Naturally, certain regulations apply to every age and sex, without exception, others only to children or adults, man or woman. No one, no matter what the situation, would, by word or action, presume to intimate to others that some custom which everyone in his position observes has no meaning for him and does not obligate him. Such behavior would make it impossible for him to live in Yamana society. Quite the contrary, as we shall soon show, everyone is anxious to avoid any suspicion that he, on occasion or as a matter of principle, disdains any law of custom whatever.

183 The Yamana can justify this inescapable pressure on everyone by referring to Watauinéiwa, their only deity. Their whole
●776 body of custom, so to speak, embraces the true moral law in the narrower sense of the term, as well as all obligations for social coexistence and for the individual toward himself, in the widest sense of the term. The Fuegian has a general formula with which he derives this, his body of custom, that is to say, all the principles and guides practiced, from his deity as the ultimate source; he says: "Watauinéiwa wants everyone to be a good human being! -- Watauinéiwa wants it that way [as custom has hitherto decreed]; he watches carefully to see whether everyone is acting accordingly!" He does not remember his lawgiver on the occasion of every single act, which would be superhuman, but this general formula remains in his subconscious and at times he is very definitely openly conscious of it. Just as this deity remains the same and has in no way and at no time changed the obligations once set forth, so these obligations endure in unmitigated strictness and retain their unchanging character through all generations. For the Yamana the terse, definite wording above gives /1004/ the ultimate source and universal duty, embracing all times and persons, toward every kind of valid obligation. Further details will be given in the section on the actual moral law.

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3. My Own Conclusions

771 114 It was anything but encouraging at the start of my journeys to be faced with the strange fact that all the visitors to Tierra del Fuego, as well as all the missionaries without exception, denied with emphatic, unequivocal words that our Indians had any kind of religious view and practice. Everyone regarded the Yamana as irreligious. On my first and second visit, therefore, I consciously avoided touching upon this subject in my conversation with the members of the Lawrence family and in my contact with the Indians. Besides, there were other, more immediate problems which first had to be solved.

124 773 ● 776 The traveling investigator must be favored by fortune; otherwise his efforts are in vain. I obtained the first indications of the religious ideas of the Yamana quite incidentally and without my doing anything. One evening on my second journey I was again sitting with a group of several men who were explaining to me the ancient traditions of their tribe. It was then that I learned for the first time about their myth of a great flood which, in hoary antiquity, had inundated their present homeland. All of us who had listened with obvious seriousness to the old storyteller were silent for some time and thought about the catastrophe of that flood. Afterward one or two men made some short explanatory remarks. I now bravely ventured to ask:"Whoever sent that big flood?" Everyone present instantly became quiet and a painful silence followed. Embarrassed, they lowered their eyes and avoided my gaze so that they would not be forced to answer me. I repeated my question and in a friendly way asked for the desired explanation. Old Alfredo who had done the talking that evening replied /1041/ emphatically: "Lḗx̯uwakípa sent that tremendous flood." When he did not add anything more, I asked: "Is Lḗx̯uwakípa really so mighty?" Alfredo replied: "As a matter of fact it was strong Watau̯inéi̯wa who sent the general flood. Lḗx̯uwakípa prevailed upon him to do it; it was her intention to demolish the whole world. With Watau̯inéi̯wa she succeeded in having the great flood come!" Naturally I asked again: "Who is this Watau̯inéi̯wa?" This very obviously increased the general embarrassment and everyone present maintained strict silence. I felt as though I had been guilty of an impropriety or had ventured on dangerous ground.

/1041 cont./

124 After a good long time and probably also in order to break the
773 general silence, Chris boldly said: "Watauinéiwa is [similar to]
776 what God is to Christians [Europeans]." His brief words were spoken in a tone which made it clear to me that further questions would not be in order. The attitude of all the men was clearly aloof. Some of them had an expression suggesting that in this discussion some information had heedlessly slipped out which should have remained secret. After that the men timidly exchanged a few words and the gathering soon broke up.

On the next evening I dared not ask about Watauinéiwa again; I suspected that the people would misunderstand. It was partly caution and partly disappointment that made me think the missionaries had told these Indians the Biblical account of the flood, but that they had not completely understood it. Hence I entered the following remark in my diary: "Probably Christian influence by the missionaries" and marked the whole paragraph with a question mark.

123 A week later the secret gathering of the čiéxaus began, in
776 which I was able to participate in March, 1920 (p. 176 /untranslated/). At that time I was treated as strictly as the Indian ušwáala and was not allowed to ask questions or to take notes. I remember clearly that at this initiation the names Watauinéiwa and Hidábuan were repeatedly used, but I was fully aware of what they meant only two years later when those names were again recalled to my memory. Although I did not grasp the fact on that occasion, I had actually discovered the Supreme Being whom the Yamana worship. I had finally come close to their religious faith.

123 On my third visit at the end of January, 1922, the men were not yet free for the planned čiéxaus celebration (p. 184 /untranslated/). In order to spend the time profitably, W. Koppers, who accompanied me at that time (p. 181 /untranslated/), and I did a good deal of research during the day with the Indian women. Nelly Lawrence was regularly and gladly present and thanks to her personal stimulation the women willingly answered our questions. We all wanted to be undisturbed, and so we assembled daily in the shed, a spacious corrugated tin house in which the /1042/ Lawrence family had major housework performed, laundry, for example. This house stood apart from the small dwellings of the Yamana families.

/1042 cont./

124 776 Again one day old traditions were discussed, and the name Watau̯inéi̯wa was directly mentioned. Full of suspense we pressed for a further explanation. This caused great embarrassment among the women and there was deep silence; not even the otherwise brave Nelly ventured a word. Finally, in order to ease the constraint, old Mary summoned up her courage and said briefly: "Watau̯inéi̯wa is like God, like Christian God /cited in English/!" I was nonplused and again faced the same barrier that I had experienced two years before, apparently on the threshold of a new world of ideas to which the Indians refused admittance. Importunate questions on that afternoon would have been futile and would surely have evoked ill humor. Mary only disclosed that upon the death of an own child or a near relative, the neighbors point to [761] the mourner with the expression: "Watau̯inéi̯wa is punishing him!" This means that the deceased and his family have been punished by Watau̯inéi̯wa through this death.

After a long pause the Indian women attempted a digression. I could not accept this and ventured cautiously to come back to that anxiously guarded name. My efforts remained unsuccessful. The whole conversation flagged and our discussion simply could not get started again. In order to satisfy us and put us off once and for all, the women finally started to tell about ēkēté̯makalo-watau̯inéi̯wa. How craftily they had chosen this way out of their embarrassment! We surrendered our hope of finally finding out more about the real Watau̯inéi̯wa. Actually they only offered us the [773] story of the small band of people who, in olden times, had set out for ēkēté̯maka, where there was stranded whale, and afterwards they remained in that region west of Ushuaia. In this combination the designation watau̯inéi̯wa has nothing to do with the name for the Fuegian deity. The crafty Indian women in this way slipped out of the trap and very smartly duped us without betraying their secret. In any case it was now clear that all kinds of things worth knowing were concealed behind that name, and to discover them would probably justify serious effort.

Several times Nelly Lawrence had willingly helped me obtain information I sought in my research on the institutions and customs of her countrymen, and this time, too, she did not fail me. As I definitely learned later, she valued the native heritage of religious ideas extraordinarily highly, and inasmuch as she

/1042 cont. /

776 124 assumed that I was of the same mind, she worked toward making it accessible to me. Three days after the discussion described above, on Wednesday, January 25, 1922, /1043/ she again invited us to the large workshed, with the enticing prospect: "Today Adelheid and I shall tell you everything about Watauinéwa!" Nelly explained candidly why these two women were the only ones who came: "Watauinéwa has punished neither of us, he has not let a single one of our children die, so we are not ashamed to have him mentioned in our presence. We may freely speak of him [in front of others also]. The other women, however, whose children he took away [through death which he caused], feel that they have been punished by him; they find it unpleasant if he [Watauinéwa] is mentioned in their presence!" These very significant words contain a complete explanation of the strange behavior of the people when I asked about Watauinéwa (9).

9. It is conceivable that this also explains the Yamana's cautious silence in the presence of earlier travelers. Some of them probably noticed this, for example, even Darwin (p. 102 /untranslated/); they were not aware of the ultimate and most profound reason, however.

Whenever I had questioned them, there were always a few persons present in their circle who were obliged to lament the loss of a close relative. It would have been the equivalent of pillorying them if the others present had spoken in detail about Watauinéwa in my presence. Considerately, Nelly came only with Adelheid, for these two could describe Watauinéwa, what he is and how he acts, freely and without embarrassment. On that Wednesday we learned most of the names which are given him, as well as a few definite prayers directed toward him.

Obviously, that discussion did not exhaust the subject and bring to light all that the Yamana carry within their hearts in the way of ideas about their Supreme Being. I realized that the rest could be obtained only through a wise procedure, and our course lay outlined in the explanation that Nelly had just given us. After that the other people probably learned that we were familiar with their conceptions of the person and actions of Watauinéwa. When

/1043 cont./

776 I subsequently directed the conversation toward their Supreme
124 Being on suitable occasions, I did it very considerately and with sympathetic understanding for the depressed feeling of a person who is reminded of one or several deceased persons who were dear to him whenever the name of Watauinéiwa is mentioned. This gentle manner, which was shown intentionally to avoid hurting anyone, was not only comforting to all the Yamana, but steadily diminished their aversion to brief discussions about that feared spirit. In the course of time the discussions gradually became more open and free, and finally, despite a respectful attitude, were almost completely without restraint. Our own attitude toward the ideas sacred to them also helped; we neither criticized nor made fun of them; rather, we valued them highly and treated them with the same respect that they themselves showed. /1044/ Even earlier I had repeatedly heard their comparison: "Christians speak scornfully of their god, revile him and even reject him. No Yamana speaks of our Watauinéiwa in this way!" It was obviously consoling to them that we, too, showed veneration toward him. Some of the Fuegians, however, continued to be reticent whenever Watauinéiwa was mentioned. Although this was always done with genteel reserve, nevertheless it seemed incredible to many of them that something which they themselves revere as sacred could be the same to us.

On that third journey I was permitted to experience the youth initiation a second time (p. 185 /untranslated/), where I heard new references to Watauinéiwa, which were in accordance with the ancient program for the čiéxaus (p.759). Finally on my fourth visit (p. 190 /untranslated/) I was offered an extraordinarily valuable addition to what I had previously learned with regard to a ceremony for the dead. Thus, several times, through none of my doing and quite suddenly, I came upon religious utterances of the Yamana. It was primarily for this that I sought uninterrupted and open discussions with all the older people. By doing so, I could bring to light what I have put together in the following pages. I know of no reason why they should have concealed anything from me.

114 There is no longer any lack of convincing explanations as to why these Fuegians have so anxiously guarded their heritage of

/1044 cont./

1[illegible] religious ideas and practices from every stranger since their contact with European culture and why they entrusted me alone with this precious heritage, albeit under very special considerations. I must say that the same is true of my participation on two occasions in their secret youth initiation, čiéxaus, as well as my direct experience of the men's ceremony, kina, and the school for medicine men, lóima-yékamuš. In their opinion I proved myself worthy of this extraordinary favor.

b. Content of the Yamana Religion

771 128 It is not a serious injustice to the Fuegians if, from the start, one expects no systematic organization of their religious ideas, which do not form a complete, compact, interlocked chain of thought; in fact, wide gaps are sometimes apparent. Individual ideas are juxtaposed loosely and without connection. Although the Fuegian has these ideas, he does not bother to understand them completely, and also he does not seem to feel the need of having them arranged into a coherent whole. A summary and arrangement of what is presented here as the religious heritage of the Yamana would be entirely foreign to him. I have personally undertaken it in order to present a survey and to make possible a scientific evaluation.

776 On the preceding pages Watauinéiwa, the /1045/ sole deity of the Yamana in the more limited sense of the word "religion" (p. 949), has been designated as a "Supreme Being" (10). Although the Fuegian does not have this conception, he in fact knows no other spirit superior to Watauinéiwa. The latter is also the only one accorded a unique power and a superior position, whereby he stands far apart from every other being. Finally, his relationships to human beings are those of an absolute master and sole lawgiver; one renders religious homage to him alone. It is only in this sense that Watauinéiwa is called a deity, as is customary in theology generally.

10. For the same reasons I previously likewise referred to the deity worshipped by the Selk'nam as a "Supreme Being" (Vol. 1, 498).

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1. Personality of the Supreme Being

776 The thinking of the Fuegians is inclined (if one may express it thus) toward concreteness. Their conceptions have definite forms and clear outlines. Their Watauinéiwa especially is a sharply delineated, independent person standing by himself and far removed from every other spirit. For the Yamana he is not a completely formless creation of thought, but an individual spirit-being with an autonomous form and an independent manner of existence. He is never referred to with a universal, generic designation, but only a proper name or, in its place, a clear, conventional circumlocution. The characteristics attributed to him are evident in part from these names, but even more from the prayer formulas (11). He makes himself clearly felt as an altogether independent personality, in particular by his intervention in many ways in the life and existence of the individual, as well as in the destiny of the whole group.

a. His Name

Some of my informants were familiar to a certain extent with the meaning of the words "Dios" and "God" as they are used by the Whites. They never used them directly to refer to their Watauinéiwa, but always used the customary names, of which there are several. They are not proper names in the strict sense, of the type, for example, given each Yamana; rather, they are words with an emphatic meaning and of greatest import, which, as such, are applied exclusively to this deity. In this respect our Indians differ from the Selk'nam who use an actual personal name, Temáukel (Vol. 1, 497).

Often they use Watauinéiwa in the sense of "the very ancient one," that is, the /1046/ unique very ancient one who, in permanence of being, surpasses every other old one. Sometimes this word

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11. Most of this has already been published by Koppers (e):12 and Schmidt (d):927.

/1046 cont./

776 is also applied to the ancestors of antiquity, the first arrivals, the places which they settled in those times and which today are already fossilized. In this case its meaning is, of course, limited, for there is only one, namely, the Supreme Being, who is properly and truly the very ancient one. BD:632 also gives the word wātauinaiwa, "the ancient one who changes not. A suitable term for God indicative of his eternity and unchangeableness" /cited in English/. Bridges here gives the basic meaning. The accompanying explanation confirms the occasional use to which this word is put in referring to ancestors: "This term was used specially of [821] the Rainbow which coming ever and anon was regarded as ever living and the author of death [?]. Used also of Heroes of old time" /cited in English/. In connection with this the Yamana form the word Watau̯inḗi̯wa-sēf, "the very ancient one in heaven." BD:379 gives sēif instead of sēf, "the (blue) sky" /cited in English/; also Watau̯inḗi̯wa-ai̯zā́ku, "the very ancient one and the one of boundless strength." In BD:10 one finds aizōka, "immense, huge, very large" /cited in English/. Tā́nuwa has the same meaning, according to BD:421, "(My) father, my old man (fam.)" /cited in English/, which is something like /in German/ "mein lieber, guter Alter."

[601] The Yamana no less frequently use Hidā́bu̯an or Hitapū́a̯n as "my father" and Hā́u ímun, "my father" or, by shifting the possessive prefix hi, also hai̯anā́nin ímun, "our father." Occasionally Hā́ua ū́šu, "my grandfather" and Kalai̯ḗxēn, "dear little old father," are also used.

The following names are also to be interpreted in such a way that their unique meaning, applied to the deity, is raised to the highest degree of intensity. Abai̯lā́kin, "the strong, the mighty." BD:14 gives abā́i̯la, "strong, physically strong, firm, powerful" /cited in English/. The combination hā́i̯m hū́lu Abai̯lā́kin stands for a particularly great intensification. The first two words can also be repeated, which gives the greatest possible emphasis. This construction, however, is used exclusively for Watau̯inḗi̯wa. According to BD:261 hā́i̯m means "in a great degree, very exceedingly" /cited in English/. The Yamana also use the construction Abā́i̯la-Watau̯inḗi̯wa and Abā́i̯la-sḗf.

/1046 cont./

•776 Manunā́kin is popular, as is Manau̯anā́kin, in the sense of "the sole mighty one." BD:285 gives these words in the combination manūnāki hau̯an, "this is valued" /cited in English/; it has the same root as auwēn, according to BD:65 auwōn, "true, sincere, in earnest, in truth" /cited in English/, and auwōnā́ki, "the good one" /cited in English/.

Only once was Tumū́u̯čikánaku used, "he who makes others angry and infuriates them." These words are also used by the Yamana in ordinary speech. Compare in BD:519 the expression tūmūlučikāna, "cause, permit any person to učikana (BD:112), to annoy, trouble, vex by demands, requests, entreaties, etc." /cited in English/.

[761] On the occasion of a death and at a public funeral, Wḗlapatux-sēf, "the murderer up in heaven," is often used and always with strong emotion. BD:619 clearly states "wölāpatux, cruel, murderous; acting in a manner braving danger in a reckless manner as though one could not be hurt or as one was like hard stone and invulnerable" /cited in English/.

/1047/ Finally one also finds in BD:629 "wāgunā́ki, the upper or higher one, the one above, the highest one; a term for God as 'the Highest'" /cited in English/. I did not come across this word and Bridges does not give an explanation for it anywhere. A definite contradiction should be pointed out, however. In his dictionary he lists an expression for "God" and yet for decades he denied that the Yamana had any kind of religious conception.

The above terms for the Supreme Being are variously used, depending on the given situation, but never thoughtlessly and always with conscious reference to this deity. The expressions always show more or less veneration for the deity, except for the names which the poor human being angrily uses to relieve his soul concerning his own impotence in relation to him.

1954 776 Often, though not to the same extent as the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 497), our Indians use circumlocutions in place of the designations just listed. On the basis of the position occupied by Watau̯inéi̯wa in visible creation, according to their belief, they more or less consciously connect striking events and important happenings with him as the true creator and ultimate cause. They say briefly: "This comes from above!" and use the particle kūp

/1047 cont./

195 or kūpa. Compare BD:210, 211. This replaces the name, but is clear to everyone who hears it. Calderon and other men regard
●776 this substitution as "palabra política," as a wisely calculated way of speaking, outwardly mild but actually perfectly clear and full of meaning, somewhat like a key symbol in cryptography. Out of respect they avoid addressing the Supreme Being with the customary names as much as possible. Moreover, they do not wish to
[765] hurt openly a person who is in mourning and who, if one of the customary designations were used, would be publicly shamed or reminded of the fact that the death just mentioned was sent as a punishment by Watau̯inéi̯wa. The nature of the conversation and the particular circumstances of an utterance safely prevent a misunderstanding of the circumlocution on the part of the persons present.

β. His Characteristics

776 The above names and the prayer formulas familiar to the Yamana both contribute their share to form a complete picture of the Supreme Being's uniqueness as it lives in the soul of these Fuegians. At first glance we recognize Watau̯inéi̯wa as an independent personality who is clearly distinguished from other beings of all kinds and, far removed from them, is completely independent. Watau̯inéi̯wa is a being apart; his whole nature is different from that of the other spirit-beings and even more from that of all human beings.

/1048/ We have already referred to his spirituality. For the concept "spirit" the Yamana use kḗšpix́. To them Watau̯inéi̯wa is the very great kḗšpix́ who is properly, and more than other spirit-beings, a spirit in the real sense of the word. As such he is invisible and thus cannot be seen by human eyes. Repeatedly someone flies into a rage because Watau̯inéi̯wa has caused the death of a near relative, and he would like to confront him directly, but as kḗšpix́ that one is inaccessible to any human being. Since he is incorporeal, no one has a perceptual idea of his person. I was emphatically told: "He does not have the body which every Yamana has down here [on earth]; he also does not die, as each

/1048 cont./

776 of us will when his kḗšpix́ leaves his body." There are no pictorial
or material representations of his person.

His abode is always far away from the earth and, in the invariable phrase, "high up there" in space. "From this great distance and because of the air space intervening no Yamana can see him. No one knows what he looks like, for he is kḗšpix́!" That is all they say about how and where he lives "up there," nor do they picture details in their own imaginations.

Nevertheless, Wataųinéįwa is close to every human being
776 through a sort of omnipresence attributed to him. This character-
626 istic is expressed more tangibly when he is described as omniscient,
so to speak. "He sees everything. -- He knows what everyone is
doing. -- He also observes how a person behaves in secret [unobserved by his countrymen]!" I often heard this and similar expressions. In the čįḗxaųs Chris told me: "He looks down from up there and he punishes here on earth. So he is also on earth! He reaches and punishes every lazy and good-for-nothing human being" (p. 766). When this same Chris was an ušwą́ąla in the čįḗxaųs, his sponsor reminded him: "Heed all this advice faithfully. Wataųinéįwa wishes it; he watches carefully to see whether you will act accordingly" (p. 736). Every candidate is emphatically warned: "Watch out for Wataųinéįwa, never forget him!" The awareness that they are always being watched by him is not without effect on the personal conduct of our Indians.

In the last analysis, this conduct is likewise determined by him through the prevailing customs and traditional habits, in short, through the whole body of moral law, the authorship of which is attributed to him. The Fuegians say very simply and plainly: "Wataųinéįwa wants everyone to behave as has always been customary among us Yamana!" They link with this the conviction that in the beginning these laws were drawn up by him to
serve as guides for subsequent generations. With his omniscience
776 he sees to it that they are rigorously observed and he avenges
626 serious transgressions. This type of activity on his part is /1049/
most often mentioned because of its perceptible effects. He is
761 maligned as the "murderer up there in heaven," Wḗlapatux̧-sēf,
for he causes the untimely death of adults and immature children. He causes everyone to die; hence the persons themselves and their nearest relatives, even the entire group, are punished and hurt.

/1049 cont./

776 He proceeds ruthlessly; he does not desist even in the face of the
761 tenderest age or the bitterest grief and greatest sorrow of a mother.
626 He is truly a Tumū́u̯čikánaku, and the more helpless the poor human being feels, the more passionately he moves against him.

In his weakness the Fuegian is at the mercy of that Abāi̯lā́kin, that hā́i̯m hū́lu Abāi̯lā́kin, the unlimited mighty one who punishes when and however it pleases him, heedless of the pain and woe of human beings. He alone is lord over the life and death of all. He grants life and therewith the child enters independent existence. He lets everyone have life as long as it pleases him. He takes it away and man dies. By way of punishment he sends a serious ill-
[753] ness; he liberates a person from it, but only occasionally. He causes dying "of his own free will, and no influence by natural forces or magic power is capable of prevailing upon him. The dying one resigns himself to the progress of a serious illness without much complaining about his fate. The relatives and friends also yield submissively; they say: 'Watau̯inḗi̯wa is much mightier than we, no one can stand up against him. He will carry this one off, we must let it happen, we can only weep!'" (Gusinde [L]:161.)

[821] In the same manner he bestows good and bad weather. If he wants to chastise someone, he has him tormented by storm and
776 rain; if he favors someone, he will let him be accompanied by
626 sunshine. He brings success in hunting to the men and success in gathering to the women, but sometimes he also arranges that they both come back empty-handed. In the final analysis, he is the author of every bad and fatal accident. A person who is dealt a severe blow regards it as a personal punishment; whether he is uncomplainingly silent or noisily abusive, he must accept it as one who is utterly defenseless. The threats with which our Indians try to ease their oppressed hearts do not touch that Abāi̯lā́kin in the least. He does not use physical force, but operates merely by willing something. The Yamana express themselves as follows. For example, a girl was admonished in the či̯ḗxau̯s: "Begin your day's work early in the morning. Watau̯inḗi̯wa sees every lazybones. Watau̯inḗi̯wa will [as punishment] make you die soon [i.e., prematurely] if you are a lazy lie-abed!" They also say: "He will look at you, then it will soon be all over with you!" Sometimes they also warn: "The one up there is looking at you!" This means: He has designs on you, he has long intended to punish

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776 you. Thus, as everyone knows /1050/ and must yield to without 626 defense: this Watauinéiwa-aizáku, the very ancient one and the one of boundless strength, "has at his disposal a power which all the Y amana together are unable to resist, especially not if he arbitrarily takes away our children." They are all convinced: "We must fear him and be on our guard against him!"

The visible world lies in the palm of his hand, "all things belong to him"; he is the lord and the owner of all creation. A Fuegian judges everything around him as Watauinéiwa-sirž, a very common expression. BD:379 translates sirž as: "tolls, goods, property, things in general" /cited in English/. There is a friendly feeling connected with this word formation; according to it every "thing" is a piece of property belonging to the deity (p. 866). Evidently this means living creatures, chiefly the large mammals and the birds. He granted the Yamana all of these for their use and benefit; hence they are a true gift of God to human beings. Everyone may use them, but only to the extent that he needs them for subsistence. To misuse them arbitrarily or to destroy them willfully would be to turn against the intentions of their owner and would evoke his vengeance. "He watches carefully to see that animals are not needlessly killed and that meat does not spoil," but is utilized! The Indians often and in all earnestness impressed these words upon me. Without exception they are punctilious about this rule; I never saw them heedlessly leaving a slain animal lying about.

776 Furthermore, the Fuegians, with unequivocal explanations, make it clear that their Watauinéiwa also holds the fate of men in his hands. It is well known that malevolent spirits and, above all, the yékamuš practice their baleful influence on individuals. The yékamus have enough power to cause someone to become ill. They may breed mischief, however, only to the extent and as long as Watauinéiwa permits it. Neither a spirit nor a yékamuš can harm a person against the will of the deity. If harm befalls one, he is really personally in favor of it, and he himself is ultimately responsible. If a yékamuš realizes that a serious illness has developed, against which his knowledge is of no avail, on his own initiative he delivers the sick person to Watauinéiwa as the only one left who can help, but since he is, after all, Manauanákin, everything

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•116 significant that happens goes back to him, at least as something he has permitted. He also directs the forces of nature with his own hand; the Yamana definitely express this in various ways. In this connection compare Gusinde (L):161.

116 Is this ancient one to whom, as sole owner, everything visible belongs also regarded as its ultimate cause, as its creator?
113 It seems to me that the Fuegians do not have a clear conception of creation (12). /1051/ They never discuss in so many words the work of creation out of absolute nothingness, nor do they definitely emphasize that Watauinéiwa existed before the actual creations did. Nevertheless, that actually is their view, and they also see in him the origin of all that was created. They do not clearly express these truths, but tacitly they recognize them, for example, when they say: "Watauinéiwa existed alone at first! Then he made all the animals, and it was there in Yáiaašága. All animals [therefore] belong to him." Apparently no one speculates about the exact origin of human beings and all the rest; they are content to describe Watauinéiwa as the unlimited master and true owner. In this way they recognize him more or less as the sole and ultimate cause of the existence of the visible world. Compare Gusinde (L): 160.

In March, 1923, I discussed this and similar ideas with old Mašemikens, and I asked him how human beings had originated. This time, too, he replied clearly and emphatically: "It is not the first time that I have been faced with this question. When I was a young man I learned the story of the many animals who were transformed back there in the great revolution at Yáiaašága. I

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12. I shall let Bridges (i):19 speak on this question although he cannot be regarded as authoritative: "They have no tradition of their origin; for them the world was always what it is, and ever will be the same. For them it had no maker or master and they had not the least idea of pleasing or displeasing anyone beyond themselves" /cited in English/.

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776 asked myself and also other men, above all, the capable yékamuš
773 and the most experienced old men, how that took place. No one
knew the answer as to how human beings actually originated and
where they came from. So to this day I do not know. I have
often and persistently searched and tried to answer this question.
At that time Tāruwalëm burned up the whole world and all the
animals. And this I can't understand either, how afterwards
everything was put in order again, how the huge fire was put out,
and how he again restored plants and animals to this land. All
this we do not know. In former years I often asked the experienced
old people about this." A few days later, I sat in a circle of several old men, as was my custom, and quite spontaneously the conversation again drifted to these things. Richard repeated: "We
really don't know exactly how everything came about at that time.
Of course Watauinéiwa already existed in the very old days, for
heaven was already here above the earth, there where the clouds
are and where Watauinéiwa also stays. Before Lëm [sun] and
Hānuxa [moon] and Akáinix [rainbow] wandered here on earth
like human beings, Watauinéiwa was already here, for heaven existed before all of them. At that time women ruled. We do not
know how and from where children came at that time, for none
of the women who then ruled the men slept with their husbands
and cohabited with them in order to conceive children. None of
us can say where children came from in those days. It is only
since the great /1052/ revolution that women are subordinate to
the will of men. It was back in the time when the great fur seal
[825 tëpéxa (Arctocephalus australis) discovered how man and woman
842 should unite, she underneath and he on top of her; that gives them
831] pleasure. Since then they have done it that way to this day. When
husband and wife unite in this way, then children follow. So we
know where our children come from now. Where they came from
before that, no one can explain. We know equally as little about
where Lëm and Hanuxa and the stars come from, which at that
time lived on earth just like human beings. When they [the ones
mentioned] and sëf [heaven], too, were here, Watauinéiwa was
also here, and he was here even long before that." Thus, no
Yamana can explain definitely and clearly how the visible world
originated. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that a deeply thoughtful
and meditative man like Mašemikens felt this gap and tried to fill it.

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• 776 If one carefully examines the words of the men mentioned, he can obtain from them a conception of the everlasting existence of the Supreme Being, without temporal limits in either direction. Our Fuegians do not even discuss a cessation of the existence of this "Késpix́-up-there," and of all his characteristics they are most familiar with the one meant by the oft-repeated designation Watau̯inéi̯wa. According to their conception, this "very ancient one" has simply always existed, and no one questions where he actually came from or what his origin is. One may also assume that, according to the belief of the Yamana, this "very ancient one" has always remained the same. Nowhere do they imply, much less state, that he has changed his personal attitude toward human beings or the laws imposed upon them. In sum, he has remained personally the same, hence unchanging. In the strict sense of the word, he does not in any case let himself be influenced by human beings. "We Yamana often complain bitterly, but he deals with us as he pleases!" Mary said. She had explained to me [782] that in distress and in serious illness those who are directly or indirectly affected turn to the Supreme Being, praying for deliverance. He takes cognizance, so to speak, of these prayers and sometimes proves well-intentioned, but he would by no means feel pressed or forced to change his absolutely free decision. The Yamana are clearly convinced of this.

Despite the decided arbitrariness with which Watau̯inéi̯wa now and then obviously interferes with the fate of individual human beings, he is generally regarded as benevolent and good. They like to address him as Hidábu̯an, for he is truly a father to each one and to the Yamana as a whole. This designation most often occurs in the old traditional prayer formulas. With the happy conviction that he is concerned about everyone, and especially that he will provide each one with the animals necessary for his subsistence, the Yamana trust him and his providence. Many approach him with the naïve, childlike confidence with which, in /1053/ human relationships, a child confronts its good father. Although grievous blows sometimes make the individual lose his mental balance, in general "the conviction of the benevolence of the Supreme Being" (Gusinde [ℓ]:163) predominates. Hence they also venture to address him with the intimate Kalaiéx̯en, "dear little father" and the friendly Tánuwa, "the dear, good old man."

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●776 A complete picture of the Supreme Being as it exists in the imagination of the Yamana must show his absolutely independent position with regard to all the other spirits and human souls. In none of the many myths that I collected is he included in any way; in fact, there is a wide gap between him and all the mythological personalities and the so-called kína spirits. It has been shown on page 765 to what extent he is linked with the Tánuwa spirit in the Čiéxau̯s. He is not viewed as sharing the conditions of existence which the Yamana regard as vital, such as being married. On 776 124 one occasion, with studied carelessness, as though it were an everyday matter, I asked a few people: "To whom, I wonder, is Watau̯inéi̯wa married?" In response an expression appeared on their faces, showing what, in their view, a very stupid, gauche utterance deserves. Nelly Lawrence seemed disconcerted, and long seconds passed before she regained her composure after the impact of that strange question. This time, too, as in all her other statements, she wanted to be accurate, and she assured me innocently: "That is something I never heard about! I'll ask the old people whether they perhaps know something!" She was already fully convinced that anything like it was utterly unknown to the old people also; that is why she never came back to the subject. Soon afterward, when Chris alone was asked this question, he replied indignantly: "Who in the world maintained that!" Calming him, we explained: "As a matter of fact no one maintained anything like that; we just wanted to ask!" He then fell silent and showed pity for Europeans who confused themselves with such useless questions. The Yamana have no conception whatever of how Watau̯inéi̯wa actually lives -- that is to say, his dwelling, food, weariness, sleep, etc. -- and they have nothing to say on the subject. They definitely know that he has a very unique manner of existence; this is enough for them and they have no desire to find out about details.

776 All the characteristics attributed to Watau̯inéi̯wa add up to quite a richly endowed personality, despite the simplicity of the picture. He has a wholly independent position above all creation, as well as separate from other spirit-beings and from human beings. His intervention in the destinies of the inhabitants of the earth, and thus his activity in general, is revealed in the association

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776 which the individual human being has with him and, above all, in the prayer formulas.

/1054/ 2. Religious Activity

776 771 All accounts clearly indicate that the Supreme Being of our Yamana does not, like the chief personages in their myths, dwell far beyond the clouds, unconcerned with the events on earth. Quite the contrary, Watau̯inḗi̯wa truly and attentively follows the activities of the individual, often directing fate against the person's hopes and desires; indeed he is more active than is agreeable to many. Everyone knows him as an active, alert kḗšpix́. Thus, no one loses sight of him entirely; much less would anyone purposely and heedlessly ignore him altogether. It is true that some Indians are more eagerly concerned about him, more actively engrossed with his characteristics, and therefore think about him more often than do other fellow-tribesmen, but there is not a single Fuegian who is completely "godless." Without any effort on his part, everyone is often enough reminded of Watau̯inḗi̯wa by his relatives and neighbors and is included in their religious activity. For that very reason no one loses the religious customs as practiced and handed down by earlier generations. To what extent and how often each individual practices religion by himself cannot be determined precisely, nor can it be shown that women do more in this respect than men. As elsewhere, personal disposition and the influence of training in youth are decisive, as well as a person's immediate environment from early childhood.

α. General Practices

771 The amazing simplicity revealed in the Yamana way of life is, naturally, also apparent in the religious realm. Except for specific prayer formulas, their outward religious activity is remarkably limited. They have no actual portrayal of their Supreme Being or particular places reserved for his worship, nor do they have any kind of sacrifice. A priesthood and religious ceremonies are also lacking. The gathering of many families on the

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771 occasion of a death cannot be regarded as a religious ceremony since this is held primarily because of grief over the loss of a dear relative. The religious heritage of our Indians is never seen by a European visitor, and that alone explains the agreement of all the travelers and missionaries who depicted them as absolutely irreligious (13).

> 13. I often spoke freely with the older men and women about the services and the religious functions to which in earlier days, as children and young people, they were invited with a certain regularity by the missionaries in and outside of the mission stations. Each time I had the impression that it was completely incomprehensible to them how one could please the deity by a public appearance and in an assemblage of many persons. It is much more in keeping with their own frame of mind for an individual to face the Supreme Being by himself and to settle with him alone whatever he has on his mind.

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One could probably describe as religious activity in its wider sense the firmly established, equable mental attitude of deep veneration toward /1055/ Watau̯inḗi̯wa that the individual maintains. Not everyone is always conscious of it, but in some way it has a decisive influence on him to move along certain paths and to be led by universally valid principles. In its effect within the religious sphere this veneration is comparable to what a conscience is in the field of moral obligations, namely, a sort of leitmotiv by which the individual person is led. This mental attitude is the reason for the unchanging acquiescence of the Fuegian to the demands of the moral law. He submits to it without contradiction, although he cannot explain it in any other way than by repeating the well-known saying: "Watau̯inḗi̯wa sees everything. -- He wants everyone to conduct himself in the way that has always been customary among us Yamana!" For him the rule of conduct lies in this and similar words, and that is why it has not changed through successive generations. It is true that the fear of punishment

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781 often protects this or that person from lapses, but it is really be-
● 776 cause of the ancient tradition itself that they adhere to its de-
626 mands. No one would ever complain of the tight bonds imposed on free action. On the contrary, the customs of the old people are everywhere highly respected, because ultimately Watau̯inéi̯wa appears as the guardian of public order.

781 Inasmuch as he must be approached with piety, no one dares repeat his name without a special reason, much less hold it in
776 contempt. If the Supreme Being is mentioned, the Yamana shows
195 decided piety and a certain solemnity in his whole outward bearing when he speaks his name, thus giving the spoken word a marked note of consecration. The various names applied to the deity are never thoughtlessly uttered. Another sign of pious respect is the use of circumlocutions. These are used most often when in the course of a ceremony of mourning an excited person struggles with Manunákin, "the sole mighty one." It is as though he wanted to dampen his improper conduct, as though he would not turn immediately and directly to the familiar deity. The habitual respectful attitude of the Yamana toward the person of the Supreme Being himself forces them, so to speak, to the greatest possible fidelity to tribal custom, particularly the moral obligations, and does not let the thought of contradiction or renunciation arise.

β. Prayers of Supplication

782 The Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 509) are exactly
[171] alike concerning the form and distinctive character of their religious veneration, but they are /1056/ conspicuously different in the use of prayers and invocations to their deity. Whereas the Selk'nam dedicate to their Tẹmáu̯kel a few more or less freely chosen words only on rare occasions (Vol. I, 510), our Fuegians have at their disposal a long list of established prayer formulas which everyone uses according to the given circumstances. They have adhered to them so strictly that they still repeat them even today, although individual words and expressions are no longer used in daily life and have even become incomprehensible; only the general sense of the whole formula has been preserved.

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765 539 "to observe, watch with a view to find out anything" /cited in English/, in BD:291; mutau̯wana, "to cease, desist" /cited in English/, in BD:366; hala and la in BD:277, 263. I heard this prayer several times at the great funeral ceremony in March, 1923.

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(27)	Annumutá,	hála	kū́pa	tū́mukinananā́na
	Desire,	yet	up there	take to task
	Yā́i̯aašā́ga-dā́u̯nlum		kū́pán	téšku
	in Yā́i̯aašā́ga		up there	be pleased
	aṓnakipačikā́i̯a,		tā́lau̯wāi̯a.	
	women from the north,		alas.	

In order to understand this sentence one must realize that, according to the Yamana conception, all the animals were made by Watau̯inéi̯wa in Yā́i̯aašā́ga where there was a great revolution when the women from the north who performed the kína settled there. Thus, all the animals belong to him as his property. Anyone who wants to give full vent to his grief expresses in the above sentence his desire to cause Watau̯inéi̯wa serious harm by destroying his animals. If he should succeed in doing so, he would feel adequately compensated. -- The individual words can be found in BD:26, for example, annumutu, "to be longing for" /cited in English/. The word tūmūkīnana in BD:521 refers to the strict treatment of the candidates and to the serious order of the day in the kína school. BD:400 gives tōška, "to laugh, twitter" /cited in English/.

765 539 Old Mašemikens, who repeated this fixed formula at the large funeral ceremony in March, 1923, added a few personal thoughts and spoke freely as follows: "All animals went out from Yā́i̯aašā́ga. Watau̯inéi̯wa brought that about. Therefore, since I cannot touch his person, I shall kill all his animals which he made. This will calm me and make me content, this will satisfy my lust for revenge!" After a long pause he went on with this thought, as follows: "Unfortunately I cannot now harm 'the-one-up-there' seriously, for I am too old [frail] and do not have enough weapons, I cannot undertake anything any more, for strength fails me, an old man. Formerly I used to carry out this plan; then I wantonly killed many animals, burned down the forest, chopped everything

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kū́pa	mayamutunā́ma,	tā́lau̯wāi̯a;
from above	teeth show,	alas;

kḗnnasigai̯a	wḗi̯	eli̯nšā́na	sī́na	yā́i̯x	dḗrupe,
who may follow		cause	your	tears	to flow,

tā́lau̯wāi̯a.
alas.

Old Emilia from the south, who never had any contact with missions, repeated these words. My informants emphatically assured me that they were unfamiliar with many of the expressions because the latter are old and belong to another dialect. The entire sentence has approximately the following meaning: On account of that-one-up-there an old man shed many tears for his daughter whom death carried away. He shed as many tears as flowed in Ushuaia where the-one-up-there /1072/ caused many people to die! The-one-up-there poured out his wrath [showed his teeth] on the daughter of this man. If only it were in our power to wrest from him the same great flood of tears.

[131] It is well known that after serious epidemics took the lives of many in the mission station of Ushuaia the Yamana referred to this region as wḗlapatux-wāi̯a, "the bay of the great murderer," i.e., of many deaths. See pages 298 and 340 /in untranslated portion/ for details.

(35)	Hā́i	šatambā́i̯a	hā́i	Hitā́pu̯ančikā́i̯a.
	I	discontent	with	my father.

Anyone who is in mourning can use this general expression, for the behavior of the Supreme Being is wholly inconsiderate.

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All these sayings more or less clearly express the helplessness of the grieving human being before Watau̯inḗi̯wa, the strong one. The Yamana regard his action as arbitrary torture, for, regardless of their sorrow and contrary to their pleas, he continues to treat them cruelly. They permit themselves such sharp threats only in case of death, and they think they are justified in ridding their oppressed hearts of their grief through bitter accusations and violent rage. They cannot defend themselves in any other way.

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771 797 177 who could have read these writings with understanding and profit. It has likewise not been shown that those who received special instruction transmitted their knowledge to their compatriots (21).

> 21. Despard (b):733 praises Button's good memory and says that the latter told on Isla Keppel "whatever he had learnt of religion and morality -- not much of these last, to be sure....When questioned as to the efforts he had made to impart his acquired notions of religion to his countrymen, he replied, 'Yes; me tell God very good, make everything; Jesus Christ God's Son, very good -- die. My people stupid -- no sabby [no saber]; I no tell more'" /cited in English/.

If one carefully surveys the entire religious heritage of the Yamana, its individuality is clearly apparent and nowhere can an amalgamation with Christian ideas be demonstrated. The belief in Watauinéiwa is not the result of missionary influence.

Without any doubt it proves to be the special heritage of the Yamana, which they held and cherished long before their first contact with Europeans. My own research, and particularly the wholly unusual, accidental way in which I personally stumbled upon their religious heritage (p. 958), in itself explains why it was withheld from other visitors and even from the missionaries. It is not necessary to repeat the details; they have been fully presented.

1. Its Intrinsic Value

771 776 Many unequivocal circumstances definitely and clearly testify that the Yamana have preserved their heritage of religious ideas and practices and have transmitted it from ancient times to the present. Quite generally, these ideas and practices are to them a logical postulate of their thinking. This is not to credit them with a particular gift for philosophical speculation, but their

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minds also demand a satisfactory answer to certain questions that arise. A person like Mašemikens, for example, tried to fathom how people actually came into existence and how /1078/ animals began to appear after the universal flood (p. 972). Although certain situations continue to lack full and specific explanations, everyone rests content in the knowledge that although he lacks insight into the handiwork of Watauinéiwa, the latter, the true and actual Abáila, accomplishes everything that the human being is unable to grasp in detail. The pressure that traditional custom exerts on every Yamana without exception is, in the final analysis, regarded as an emanation of the will, as a command of Watauinéiwa. Everyone adapts to it as a matter of course, as though it could not be otherwise. It was always like this, ever since the Yamana existed, simply because "that-one-up-there" always existed and he himself does not change, any more than do his regulations. In the play of blind natural forces our Fuegians recognize the movement of their Supreme Being who guides them and holds them in his hands. Do they have any other choice, then, but to turn to benevolent Hidábuan with the request that he command those uncanny forces to desist when they might harm and endanger their own lives? New human lives arise from his sphere of power. The loss of a close relative through death, however, leaves a more enduring impression and is more keenly felt as an injury. This intervention is solely the work of the supramundane skill of brutal, heartless Wélapatux. Toward human beings he can permit himself evident high-handedness with the worst consequences, for he is safe far behind the clouds and inaccessible to all the lamenting and raging of helpless earthly pilgrims. From the closely linked chain of ideas concerning the personality and activity of the Supreme Being, only the most important have been mentioned here. On account of their simplicity they can be easily arranged into a well-ordered system.

Although no Yamana has undertaken a similar experiment for himself, the totality of his religious heritage is adequate for him because he is aware of its more important details in his everyday life on any given occasion. Actually, he accepts the various happenings, whether they be more agreeable or very bad, solely because he relates them to his Watauinéiwa. If the latter is the

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771 776 driving power and active cause behind any occurrence whatever, especially behind events of decisive import, then discussions, no matter how long, would change nothing, and the person affected has no recourse but to realize his own helplessness and to yield weakly to the situation imposed upon him. As may be expected, this decision restores his mental balance and calms even the greatest surges of fury against the severest losses and the bitterest disappointments. One must see these Fuegians on the occasion of a general funeral rite, yamalašemóina. Everyone in the company of others acts as though he were mad with grief, and a few hours later, at any rate by evening of the same day, ruefully and full of confidence, he again turns to /1079/ his Hidābuan with sincere requests for forgiveness and pardon for his excited, irreverent behavior which, he says, was, after all, not entirely unjustified.

771 797 177 The complete contentment which their religious heritage gives the Yamana has prevented any desire for more. That is why they regarded the Christian teachings presented to them by the English missionaries as utterly superfluous. It can scarcely be proved that a single one of them was drawn to these missionaries from a pure desire for Christian truths. In fact, the missionaries had great trouble getting a few children to stay in their stations for any length of time and occasionally gathering together a few adults for a religious service and instruction. The following statements illuminate the whole situation like a strong light. Mary told me that as a girl she was taken into the house of the Lawrence family in Ushuaia for a few months to do all kinds of work. She once described to me her usual occupations and also pointed out that every day ended with a short reading from the Bible, to which the missionary added a few explanations about his God. I asked her to tell me whether she welcomed this, whereupon she replied with surprising candor: "Oh well, I listened to everything. Mister Lawrence kept speaking about his God. He said: 'Our Lord' /cited in English throughout this passage/ demands that everyone be a good human being, that everyone work hard, that no one steal from another, and that no man have anything to do with another's wife, that we should all get along with each other. And he repeated all kinds of other things. But what he told us about his 'Our Lord,' all this Watauinéiwa revealed to the Yamana long

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771 before, all this was always known to our own ancestors. So we
797 don't need his 'Our Lord'! Our Watauineiwa is enough for us, and
what he has told us suffices. I always realized that, each time
177 Lawrence spoke of his 'Our Lord.'" As was proved by my questions, Mary actually adopted nothing from Christianity. The attitude of Nelly Lawrence is even more convincing. As the daughter-in-law of this missionary, she lived in the same house with him for several years and was in daily contact with this deeply religious man. After I became acquainted with Watauineiwa through her efforts, she no longer hesitated to refer to him. She plainly showed me how pleased she was that I, too, sincerely enjoyed her religious views. Not for that reason alone, however, but out of innermost conviction she confessed to me that the traditional Watauineiwa faith was perfectly adequate for her and that she felt no desire for the thing John Lawrence so often mentioned about his "Lord" /cited in English/. "Everything that the Yamana tell about our Watauineiwa is incomparably more beautiful!" She repeated this conviction to me several times with proud self-confidence. In the general register of baptisms there is no mention that she was baptized /1080/ (p. 331 /untranslated/), and I never discovered any traces of Christian faith in her, but in her ideas about Hidábyan she felt happy and content; hers was really a deeply religious nature.

For the Yamana their Supreme Being is certainly no super-
● 776 natural figure passively hidden beyond the stars, but rather some-
781 one they feel close to. They connect many of the minor details of everyday life with him, and by no means only the startling events. On August 9, 1922, I was in Punta Remolino, sitting at supper with the Lawrence family. Fred had a hired man in his service who came from Chiloé and who was old and quite stupid. Once again he had proved extremely awkward in his work, and Fred's description of it was so vivid that we all had to laugh heartily. Only Nelly remained serious and warned her husband with the following words: "Don't talk disparagingly about that old man. Watauineiwa doesn't like it at all and will punish you for it. One must not make fun of old people!" Her reprimand to the whole group was so natural and serious that we were dumbfounded and, without demur, stopped laughing.

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776 781 A few days later the Chilean captain of the little cutter "Garibaldi" which belonged to this farm indulged in loud outbursts of rage because of the unfavorable weather situation. Nelly happened to be in my room and I paid no attention to the man outside the house. Before she left she said with grave emphasis: "In the early days we knew nothing of the habit which Europeans introduced of always being discontented with the weather. The Europeans complain: now there is too much wind and now too much rain, now too much snow and now too little sun! We must take the weather as it comes. If a person flies into a rage, it just makes it worse, for Watauinéiwa will become angry and then it will be really bad!" This sounded like warning for me as well.

An old Yamana spent the forenoon looking out in vain for bright sunshine, but he did not lose patience. In reply to my teasing which was meant to irritate him slightly, he said: "It is Hidšgan who sends the weather, the heavy snow and wind and frost. We can't do anything about it, we must take it as it comes! There is no use scolding loudly about bad weather. That doesn't help a bit; it can only make matters worse simply because Hidšgan will grow even more angry. It is better not to say anything and not to think anything bad about Hidšgan who in each case can send us still worse things."

771 The religious heritage of the Yamana is adequate for the conditions of life allotted to them and for the slight demands which they make upon it. It is in complete harmony with them. They make use of the individual ideas in their world of religious belief quite as a matter of course in their everyday life and at their ceremonious youth initiation, at a general funeral rite, and for hushed individual sorrow, and they apply these conceptions /1081/ naturally and unaffectedly, as is possible only with an indigenous body of ideas. They appreciate their value consciously and unconsciously, and lacking nothing, they feel no necessity to ask for more or to take what the missionaries have offered them. I never heard a word of regret or discontent over the fact that all missionary activity has been suspended.

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2. Its Characteristics

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In a critical evaluation of the originality of the Watauinewa faith the decisive fact is that the deity's characteristics and personality as imagined by the Yamana harmonize very well with the general psychology and the personal character of these Fuegians. To begin with it must be pointed out that clearly recognizable Christian characteristics are lacking. Not the slightest trace of the salient details which were constantly repeated in the teachings of the missionaries has remained among our Indians (22). Only the words "God" and "Our Lord" /cited in English/ are mentioned, but their meaning is synonymous with what the Indians themselves have put into the name of their Supreme Being. They also remember the references of the missionaries and individual farmers to the resurrection of the body, for it completely disconcerted them.

The Yamana have come to the conclusion that both figures are more or less one and the same person, and they make comparisons. On March 8, 1923, Nelly once again came to my room, accompanied this time by Sara, the Lēpakērawājakipa and wife of Pedro Mašemikens. Sara gave me a small basket as a present. In return I hastened to give her a string of beads and a small mirror. While Sara was looking at herself in the glass, Nelly discovered a picture of St. Joseph on the back. He was portrayed as a venerable older man with a long white beard. Nelly said to Sara: "Look at the other side, there is the Watauinewa of the Christians!" When this name was mentioned, Sara was somewhat taken aback, but not markedly, and she asked Nelly softly: "Does this Martin [Gusinde] know who our Watauinewa is?" Nelly nodded affirmatively. Sara was content with that and obviously relieved. Only then did she look at the picture thoughtfully and turned to me,

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22. For example, Despard (VP:VI, 29;1859) asserts that he taught J. Button about Jesus Christ, and Lawrence (MM:XXXI, 143;1897) reports that for his part he constantly spoke of the Lord Jesus.

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776 797 777 saying distinctly: "Wataụinéịwa kĕmaụštḗka (23) hananikā́ịa (the old-one-up-there is concerned about us)!" Her meaning was: Just as your Wataụinéịwa takes care of you, the Whites, so /1082/ our Wataụinéịwa is concerned about us! She said this quite naturally and without constraint while I was busy tying up the package from which I had taken the present; I did not influence her in any way. Among the Yamana the thought of their Supreme Being is actually ever present and not by any means concealed behind many other impressions and images from their everyday life. In judging this statement one must note the valuable fact that Sara's home is on the Wollaston Islands which were never influenced by English missionaries; she, therefore, had no definite conception of Christianity. Nevertheless she draws a definite dividing line between her own Wataụinéịwa and a similar person who watches over the fate of Whites.

If our Fuegians are confronted with contrary or deviant European ideas, they usually refrain from asserting their own conception and defending it as the only correct one and as though the others were wrong. Nevertheless they once rebelled against their fellow-tribesman Ukokku whom the missionaries had sent to them as their teacher. Bridges (VSA:XII, 276; 1865) reports: "Lucca told me that Ookokkoo (he not being present) had often spoken to his people of God, or heaven and hell, and what sort of people should live in them; his people being very proud and bad would not listen, and were sometimes very angry, and said that Ookokkoo told lies; that as he had never seen nor heard God they would not believe, and that man and all things had ever been as they are, without beginning and therefore without a Maker. One man, they said, pretended to be Jesus Christ; some were afraid to be in hell, and wished to become quiet as a requisite preparation for heaven; 775 797 777 some threatened to kill Ookokkoo, but were afraid to" /cited in English/. The Yamana were particularly excited by the missionaries' references to the resurrection of the dead and a life of the

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23. BD:181 translates this word: "to come up in order to take care of" /cited in English/. In the ancient prayer formulas it is often repeated with the same meaning.

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775 797 177 human soul after death under the most disparate conditions imaginable, in sharp contrast to their own faith. I myself experienced this. During a burial, while the corpse in the grave was being covered with earth, an old man, in the helplessness of his grief, turned to me with the following words which sounded very scornful: "There he lies, my cousin. And yet you Europeans say: 'Every corpse will leave its grave and become that which it was in life.' No, there is no such thing!" This man, like all his countrymen, was simply not to be converted to the new teachings of the missionaries; he clung to the traditions handed down by his forefathers. They always know how to make a sharp division between their own indigenous body of ideas and newly introduced, foreign conceptions or views.

776 Furthermore, a characteristic feature of the religious ideas of our Fuegians is their pronounced simplicity. The Supreme Being even lacks a proper name. Every Yamana is named after his /1083/ birthplace (p. 536). Is it not logical, therefore, that "the-one-up-there" has no such name because he was not born in the homeland of our Indians? Instead they use circumlocutions as ordinary social conventions. The names for the Supreme Being emphasize particular characteristics which are, however, intensified to the utmost. In both directions, therefore, tribal customs with regard to name-giving are transferred to him. If here below an aged person is shown general respect, all the more is this due the foremost and true "old one," Watauinéiwa. Similarly, the few remaining characteristics applied to him are part of the everyday events and social customs of the Yamana people. The fact remains, however, that he is a spirit and therefore exhibits forms of being that differ from people here on earth. Nothing specific is known about these forms. Truly, the Fuegian is consistent in his simple thinking, even concerning his deity.

782 197 797 Finally the considerable number and the diversity of their prayer formulas must be noted. The archaic wording speaks for itself. The Indians themselves vouch for the great age of these short sayings because they contain many words and word combinations that have long since disappeared from ordinary speech. In addition there is the opinion of the aged John Lawrence and his sons who were well versed in the language and several times expressed

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782 197 797 themselves along the same lines. John Lawrence, after he had examined those formulas for the first time, assured me emphatically: "I have been associated with the Yamana for all of 53 years and I never learned anything whatever about this!" He examined them carefully and said afterward: "Neither the names for the native deity nor the prayer formulas disclose any kind of borrowing from our Christian conceptions. Everything throughout has the stamp of the original and genuine heritage of the Yamana!" He felt it necessary to point out emphatically and repeatedly that the words and grammatical construction of the prayer formulas are not current in the language spoken today (24).

> 24. The opportunity is open to everyone to examine these data, for we have Bridges' dictionary and a number of grammatical studies from the pen of Hestermann. Bridges' translations of the New Testament could also be used for comparison.

● 776 797 Stimulated by this new information, John Lawrence made personal investigations which added to the material. He began by asking general questions about Watauinewa of this or that aged Indian, all of whom were friendly and confiding. Later when he discussed with other people the religious ideas and prayer formulas which were now familiar to him, he obtained the same result: "This heritage of ideas is an unadulterated, genuine, and unique possession of the /1084/ Yamana!" The whole discovery gave him sincere and lasting pleasure. He realized how much more favorably these greatly misunderstood Fuegians must be judged if they possess such a beautiful, pure conception of God and practice religion. In the twilight of its existence this much maligned people had the great satisfaction of knowing that now at last European circles will obtain full knowledge of this ancient Watauinewa faith. John Lawrence expressed his admiration for the research work and frankly confessed: "Even if I could live here another 50 or 100 years, the natives would not give me the trust that you enjoy among them!"

797 He viewed his long years of mission work, which had ended earlier, in the light of this unexpected experience. He was honest

/1087 cont./

577 further theories and explanations based on casual expressions of opinion by an occasional traveler.

1. Their Content

In the final analysis all the precepts and obligatory customs which our Yamana feel are binding upon them belong to general morality in its wider sense. It would be unnecessarily repetitious to list them and arrange them here in their entirety; a brief survey will surely be adequate. They are most concisely arranged in the teachings given the ušwáala in the čiéxaus (p.724) and in the instructions to the girls at the menarche (p.570), in the statements about child rearing (p. 555), property relationships (p. 851), and social relations (p.912). In sharp contrast to my assertions, other observers have described the Yamana as very poor in moral laws. A reference to the pages above is the best refutation. At least the view of the well-meaning Despard (b): 678 and 746 should be repeated here: "His code of morals is very brief. To kill, to lie, to steal, to commit adultery, are crimes; but the sole reason they see is in the punishment commission entails upon the offender from the offended. A murderer must expect sooner or later, to be killed... Their only laws seem: 'Thou shalt not steal'; 'Thou shalt not murder'; 'Thou shalt not lie'; 'Thou shalt not commit adultery.' Property, life, truth, and marriage are protected by the letter of traditionary statute, but violated perpetually through inherent wickedness. Murder is punished by blood avenger. Theft and adultery are punished by beating, and sometimes so severely as to break bones" /cited in English/. Later on it will be shown that the sanctions are of an entirely different nature /1088/ than mere threats of punishment and crude club law. The paragraphs above can also be appropriately cited as counter-evidence.

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The laws that our Yamana observe are clear and easy to understand, simple and definite. They are headed by duties toward the Supreme Being. After all, these duties in their entirety are derived from him as originator, and he carefully sees to it that they are carried out. A person who wants to stand in favor with him need only follow his precepts. It is not proper to

/1088 cont./

577 grumble about them or to resist them, and no one would presume 116 to do so. Similarly, no one expects that his blameless conduct will be rewarded by an especially advantageous destiny here on earth. In their naïve innocence the Fuegians are so reverential that they do not make such demands on their Hidā́buan; moreover, no one regards himself as absolutely without fault. Besides, everyone has an adequate living; hence he neither needs nor expects more. If they make requests, they are driven to it by their own helplessness in the face of the invincible forces of nature and the threatening arbitrariness of the Supreme Being himself. The veneration due him demands that his name not be spoken thoughtlessly. Since all animals are his property, every human being becomes culpable who misuses them and who, with evil intent, willfully kills more than he needs for his subsistence, for everyone is permitted only this much by their lord and owner. On suitable occasions the adults do not fail to acquaint growing children with these ideas.

577 The duties of self-love are also clearly defined to a surprising degree. They are most clearly expressed in the descriptions of the ideal that should be striven for by a true Yamana. The motto, "May everyone be a good and useful human being!" summarizes the personal virtues which everyone strives for primarily because of ambition. Conspicuous rivalry impels many a person to outdo his other fellow-tribesmen in faithful fulfillment of duty and blameless conduct. Diligence and industry, a sense of order and cleanliness, compatability and a quiet nature, unselfishness and constant willingness to help, moderation in eating, and respect for tribal custom in its many details are qualities which the 577 society as a whole expects from each of its members. Their sense 834 of modesty is well developed (26). In front of women /1089/ and

26. Hyades (b):1346 asserts: "The sense of modesty exists among both sexes, but it is more developed among the women and is given a special name" /translated from French/. Cf. also Hyades (q):239. In addition he (f):573 also mentions: "Masturbation is very exceptional among the Fuegians.

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577 private duties or drifts into deviations in the field of sexual mo-
626 rality, but he knows it and is made to feel that by doing so he loses the respectful opinion of his neighbors and is avoided by them, as though in punishment. After a time his sense of honor or a threat from the Supreme Being forces him back on the path of duty. There is every indication that these demands of justice, /1091/ and hence the entire situation pertaining to justice, have been preserved unchanged among the Fuegians throughout generations up to the present time (30).

[171] *30. In this respect our Yamana are* almost exactly like the Selk'nam. The moral law of the latter has been characterized and explained with an abundance of detail in Volume I, 519. A person who would take the trouble to compare the two would find surprisingly many likenesses and similarities.

577 An adequate explanation for the gravity of the demands of
•776 justice and the power of universal duty is offered by the references
626 to the ultimate originator of all this, namely, the Supreme Being himself. Our natives derive the existing custom regarding obligatory rules and laws from Watauinéiwa in definite terms. It is he who demands that the individual Yamana "adapt himself [in his conduct through life] as has always been customary," that is to say, according to the principles that he himself issued from the very beginning. The mental make-up of our Fuegians is not the kind that would split hairs over individual conceptions and arrange the result in a complex chain of ideas. A general reference to traditional forms of conduct of their ancestors satisfies their intellect. What has been shown to agree with them is legally valid, and only for this reason. Thus the entire body of moral law rests on the firmest foundation and the compulsion toward duty is given the strongest impetus. This is not changed even by the following minor factor. Now and then I was told, but without noticeable emphasis: "Yoálox let us know how we Yamana should conduct ourselves!" People like to say this to the ušwāala in the čiéxaus when they acquaint them with the myths that surround this figure.

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577 776 626 Thus he is recognized as the deliverer of the regulations that Watauinẽiwa wants the Yamana to observe. No one would ever dream of asking what justification Watauinẽiwa had for putting him and his fellow-tribesmen under the restriction of his laws nor of examining their meaning and goal in any way. It is clearly a matter of course for everyone to accept and take into consideration without the slightest objection all the moral regulations in the traditional form handed down from earlier generations as the expression of the will of the Supreme Being.

577 626 This way of thinking implies the close connection between religion and morals (31). Moral duties with their compulsory demands are not suspended in mid-air, but, as has just been said, rest on a firm foundation, from which the sanctions for either a dutiful or a faulty act derive their effectiveness. The Yamana definitely express their conviction that Watauinẽiwa sees to it that his rules /1092/ are observed and that he punishes serious transgressions (32). The fear of this punishment has beneficial effects, although occasionally someone will purposely avoid a mistake so as not to forfeit his good reputation among his people. This is especially true of old people who are always aware of their duty to set a good example to youth. Granting all this, nevertheless the decisive factor in a person's behavior is the judgment of the Supreme Being. Everyone is afraid of his punishments, all the more so since one is helpless and defenseless against him. The

31. This connection could not be closer or firmer, and this alone corrects the opinions collected by Cooper:152 that the two are of different origin.

32. According to the Yamana conception only the guilty one is punished; his crime does not implicate other tribal members. In this sense Bridges (k):239 is right when he maintains: "A wrong that is committed concerns only the agent and the victim" /translated from Spanish/.

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773 "After the mighty flood had reached its highest level so that the above-mentioned five peaks were barely visible, the water remained at this level for two whole days. After that it quickly receded and drained off. Only a few families had succeeded in saving themselves; almost all the Yamana were drowned. After the great flood had drained off, those few people began building their huts again on the shore. From that time on the men dictate to the women."

773 After I had heard this story, I happened to talk to Alfredo the next day about the same subject, and I asked him pointedly:
776 "Who sent those huge amounts of water? Does Lēxuwakīpa really have so much power?" The old man answered definitely and with conviction: "Actually it was mighty Watauinéiwa who permitted the mighty flood to come; Lēxuwakīpa persuaded him to do this. She wanted to destroy the whole world. At any rate she succeeded with Watauinéiwa so that the great flood descended."

It should be noted that on this occasion I was unable to find out anything more about the figure of Watauinéiwa. There was noticeable timidity in the mention of this name, as though my informant had let it slip out unconsciously and against his will. He refused to disclose anything further despite repeated requests. Later I was able to account perfectly for this strange behavior, but at that time, under the influence of the startled faces when the name Watauinéiwa was mentioned, I lost my head to a certain extent. I could not understand why Alfredo refused to give me further explanations. Finally I began to think that the story of the deluge had been given to the Yamana by the missionaries and that their uncertainty in Biblical matters in my presence had caused the embarrassment that I read in all their faces. I carefully noted this explanation in my diary. Later my doubts on this subject disappeared. A specific argument for the authenticity of the myth of the deluge is that neither Alfredo nor Mašemikens had any contact worth mentioning with any mission station. Two years later, in 1922, Mašemikens confirmed the entire content of this legend of the flood as I have just given it. /1157/ He did not, however, specifically speak of the direct influence of Watauinéiwa in the general deluge, although he conceded it indirectly.

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773 among the Yamana, despite all the admiration with which men and women speak of the two brothers and their elder sister.

773 821 Two stars of the first magnitude are pointed out as the Yǫā́lox brothers, namely, Sirius in the Greater Dog and Procyon in the Lesser Dog. The stars of secondary magnitude close to Sirius are the other members of the Yǫā́lox family, all of whom ascended to the canopy of heaven back in those days. BD:12 gives only iūālux, "the name of a bright star" /cited in English/, and iūālux-dāranakakīpa [our tā́rnuẋīpa], "the name of a bright star" /cited in English/.

773 776 From the stories themselves one cannot infer any connection between the Yǫā́lox family and Wataụinḗịwa; in fact, the two seem to represent quite clearly and sharply distinct spheres of ideas. Several times I asked the Yamana point-blank whether the Yǫā́lox brothers had perhaps been charged by Wataụinḗịwa to provide for the many well-known arrangements, as well as to instruct human beings in the prevailing rules and customs. They all heard this question with obvious astonishment, and from that I concluded that such a connection between the two lines of thought was not exactly familiar. It is true that from an earlier time I knew that the Yǫā́lox are introduced to the uśwą́la in the čiḗxaụs (p.767) and to girls on the occasion of their menarche (p.575) as the intermediaries of the prevailing laws and habits of life sent to them by the Supreme Being. They are never mentioned at a funeral rite. In everyday life a person will only now and then speak of them. For example, it is said that Yǫā́lox decreed that berries may not be picked prematurely, but must remain on the stalk until they are ripe (p.327). Accordingly, the intermediary role of the Yǫā́lox is not to be interpreted as a special, definite, formal mission for Wataụinḗịwa, such as, for example, Tẹmā́ukel gave the bringer of blessings, Kẹnṓs (Vol. I, 572). The situation among the Yamana is somewhat different. Their way of life was actually decisively influenced by the Yǫā́lox, but since, in the final analysis, every law and every custom is derived from Wataụinḗịwa, the activity of the Yǫā́lox must also be regarded as his command in the broadest sense of the term. To a certain extent this is directly applicable to the regulations pertaining to girls at the menarche and /1185/ women at childbirth.

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173 176 This circumstance, however, does not justify the view that there is any close relationship between the Yǫā́lox family and Watau̯inéi̯wa.

I also inquired very definitely as to whether the Yǫā́lox took part in the great upheaval in the kīna at Yā́i̯aašā́ga. The most experienced old people replied: "By that time the Yǫā́lox had surely already left the earth. The Yamana of earlier times never told us that the Yǫā́lox participated in that great upheaval." In the myth about the origin of the kīna, also, they are not mentioned; hence there is no justification for connecting the Yǫā́lox with the men's secret ceremony. However, as I was assured on one occasion in 1920, Yǫā́lox-tárnuxīpa in her day had a great influence on all the women who came from the north to Beagle Channel (p. 1111). The Yǫā́lox also are not associated with Lēm and his family. The only connection between the personalities mentioned is that they consecutively occupy a period that is separate from that of human beings (p. 1118), a period that can be justifiably designated as that of the heroes. Before the close of this period the younger Yǫā́lox introduced actual childbirth (p. 1140), through which he was granted a son. This boy and his brother begin the succession of true human beings, the yámana. The transition from the age of pre-human beings to that of human beings takes place without any disruption.

A survey of the status and activity of the two Yǫā́lox brothers shows that apparently they are endowed with superior power and are the founders of the way of life of the Yamana people. They designed the way of life, arranged it, and guaranteed it for all time by means of rules and regulations of binding legal power. They are responsible for valuable inventions which make life bearable and work easier. Thus they are shown to be culture heroes in that strict sense which Ehrenreich (a):236 applied specifically to conditions among primitive peoples. Very
173 briefly it should be mentioned that there are a surprising number
176 of points of agreement between the Yǫā́lox brothers and the
171 Kwányip brothers and sisters of whom the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 581) tell. Among the latter, most of the details are much clearer and more definite, and there is more accuracy and completeness in the succession of ideas. There is a striking basic connection

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773 between the unique and definite ideas that surround the figure of
776 the younger Yoálox among the Yamana and the figure of Kwányip
171 with her brothers and sisters among the Selk'nam. Unfortunately, space does not permit detailed comparisons (108).

> 108. Instead, see the separate essay by Gusinde (ii):687, as well as the general remarks in Ehrenreich (b):44 and Schmidt (d):1016.

In any case, it is noteworthy that in this so-called age of heroes the individual personalities, except for contemporaries, succeed one another at definitely distinguishable intervals and carry on the development. It has already been shown that the same is true among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 606). /Ed., Section b, "Myths and Legends," pp. 1186-1277, is omitted./

/1278/ D. Belief in Spirits and Superstitions

776 A special group of spirits, distinctly separate from the body of ideas surrounding Watauinéiwa and from the heroes and mythological figures, lives in the imaginations of our Fuegians. Far from having originated anything important or advantageous for the Yamana, they represent something like apparitions and demons to them. If an individual on his daily wanderings or canoe trips chances to meet these creatures, it usually does not fail to happen that he is at least threatened or endangered, sometimes even badly harmed and murdered. They are generally malevolent spirits, with the single exception of the good-natured Yefáčel. To the following description of this group of spirits a section on how the Yamana regard their dreams and on certain superstitious conceptions will be added.

a. The Groups of Spirits

In the preceding sections it has often been shown that the Yamana have the same accurate and comprehensive idea of an

/1278 cont./

776 actual spirit that is familiar elsewhere. Hence it is unnecessary to define the concept specifically. They use the word kḗšpix́ primarily and directly for the nature of the human soul (p. 1033) and Watauineiwa (p. 1068) and designate with it an independent, active, incorporeal being. Beyond these narrow limits, they use kḗšpix́ also for those beings that their own imaginations, their superstition, have created, which appear in their dreams and fantasies as so-called apparitions. These beings, therefore, do not have actual existence or substantial reality. The Yamana distinguish several groups of such so-called spirits very distinctly, according to their nature, activity, and abode. Accordingly, one group has more importance than another. Their relationship and contacts with them are such that the Yamana fear and avoid these groups of spirits, for it is only as an exception that one of them is kind and friendly toward human beings. A Fuegian never worships or actually venerates them.

These general ideas are found in Bridges (k):237, and Cojazzi:106 repeats them verbatim: "They believed in the existence of spirits or souls that could become visible at night but were not tangible. These spirits were malevolent, and the natives associated them with sickness and death. They used the word cashpick [kḗšpix́], soul, as qualifier...But the natives never worshipped or revered cushpik, hannush, or any other being" /translated from Spanish/. Elsewhere Bridges (e):332 and (i):15 adds: "Although the Yahgans had no religion, they had all kinds of superstitions. They believed in spirits who had the /1279/ form of human beings, but not their nature. They imagined that these creatures lived in caves in the woods and they believed that they hated and killed everyone who came too close to them...Persons from time to time believed they had seen these spirits and gave account of the apparition" /last sentence cited in English/. According to Bridges (h):209, there are several groups of spirits: "The Yahgans believed in apparitions, as well as in many supernatural beings, and in the existence of wild men in the woods" /translated from Spanish/. All these kḗšpix́ however, are always distinctly different from living human beings and from the human soul after death because of their strange and peculiar nature (238).

238. This means, as Bridges (i):15 says:

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> "To call a person Cushpij was a great insult" /cited in English/. In (e):332 and (k):237 it is said: "'Cashpik' is a name which they also gave people who were ridiculous or who had a bad character, and this was a great insult." Likewise Hyades (q):255.

Therefore, kḗšpix́ is a general concept, not the proper name of a definite individual person (239).

> 239. Despard (b):717 made this mistake: "Firelanders have a dread of a being called 'Cushpeec,' and are loth to hear his name mentioned. He seems to be a very lean man. When met with, he makes doleful cries..." /cited in English/. In this connection see the detailed description of this generic term above, p. 1033.

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If the Yamana extends the meaning of the word kḗšpix́ he includes those strange spirit-beings which arise from his imagination and fantasy, his belief and his dreams, and which do not truly live, as do Watau̯inéi̯wa and the human souls separated from the body. Each of the various groups forms its own peculiar society. In this connection the Yamana also extends the designation kḗšpix́ to include a rare individual case which deviates from the human norm. BD:466 refers to this with the word tūkȫšpigȫna, "to say a person is cushpik [kḗšpix́] or like one, to accuse a person of acting the part of a cushpik, i.e., of speaking or acting without any regard to truth or propriety" /cited in English/. Actual consciousness, presence of mind, personal alertness are also called kḗšpix́, that is, the definite kḗšpix́ which lives in the human being, and there is then no sharp distinction between this condition and the human soul. An unusual notion or impulse or even coincidence also belongs in this category. Earlier, on page 488, I related an unimportant incident. The daughter of old Pedro Mašemikens, who was about seven years old, following a

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● 776 778 whim, went walking along the shore with some other girls from Puerto Mejillones and traveled far from the parental hut. Darkness overtook them at Puerto Piedra and they stayed there. Full of anxiety, the parents set out to look for the children, found them, and brought them back to camp early in the morning. No one scolded the children; not even their own parents reproached them. That same night the wife of old Thomas, who had been ill for a long time, died. Everyone explained the behavior of the children by saying: "The kḗšpix́ of that woman prompted the children to go so far away before nightfall. They are not to be blamed." That is why no one thought of /1280/ punishing the children. As has been described, the adults who take part in the singing in the čiéxaus hut (p.796) regard it as natural to consider heightened emotion and inner agitation as expressions of the kḗšpix́, in short, as kḗšpix́.

[756] This fact is important in understanding the influence of the yĕkamuš. Even the power by means of which a yĕkamuš operates, either on the spot or at a great distance, is called his kḗšpix́.

Finally, the action of the wild forces of nature is sometimes pointed out as the expression of malevolent kḗšpix́. This has given rise to expressions such as are used, for example, by Krickeberg:322: "The Fuegian animates the majestic natural surroundings of his homeland with demons." In this connection Fitz-Roy's (a):179 partially correct conjecture is also pertinent: "The fact of their believing that the evil spirit torments them in this world, if they do wrong, by storms, hail, snow, etc., is one reason why I am inclined to think that they have no thought of a future retribution" /cited in English/ (240).

240. This alone is enough to refute what Darwin (f):I, 123 reported: "With justifiable pride Jemmy Button stoutly maintained that in his country there is no devil." Roskoff:51 is more accurate in his judgment: "Ideas of the sun as a mighty creature endowed with will power, upon which man feels dependent, are

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> 176 178 implicit in what Missionary Phillips relates. One sultry day when he complained to a young Fuegian about the heat, the latter cried, alarmed: 'Do not say the sun to hot, immediately it will hide and the wind will blow cold.'"

Thus the conception of kĕšpix́ is very broad and contains many things which cannot be summed up in a terse formula. Hyades (q):255 discussed this word as "an intranslatable term re*ferring to fantastic beings who live in deserted caves in the middle* of dense forests" /translated from French/. The idea of kĕšpix́ must not be so limited, however, as will be adequately shown in the following discussion.

1. Cannibals

186 266 From the start it does not seem strange that the Yamana, too, in one way or another, believe in cannibals. This belief may have originated in their apprehensiveness and fear of the Halakwulup (p. 205 /untranslated/) who are directly adjacent to the western group. A particular incident may have brought this about in the first place. One thing is certain, that almost all the Yamana designate a group within the Halakwulup tribe, about which nothing is definitely known, as the asásan, which is the same as calling them cannibals. Sometimes they include all the Halakwulup in this belief. There are others among the Yamana who include only the group living farther north somewhere near Smith Channel, some of whom it is believed now and then appear in Beagle Channel. Occasionally someone will even suspect the western Yamana, the so-called Inanumáala, of practicing this habit (241). It is said: These asásan have long canoes

> 241. Bridges (VSA:XI, 259;1864) had already learned: "These natives say there is a tribe speaking their language, but with a peculiar accent, they call them 'Ishawa,' who are cannibals, but they

/1284 cont./

186 might meet. They drew up their canoes by day and secreted themselves and never lit a fire for fear of detection" /cited in English/. In any case, the fact is that not a single Yamana saw those murderers by day and that the crew of one of their canoes never attacked our Yamana and overpowered them. Hence, those Wẽlapatux are nothing more than fantasy images.

/1285/ 2. The Water Spirits

116 Everyone is much more frequently and more vitally concerned with certain water spirits than with cannibals. These spirits are called Lakū́ma. They prefer to inhabit certain places favorable to them, but they traverse any inlet whatever. This sea monster has already been described as dangerous in the Ašóu̯laxīpa wǎtuwa /"Story of Ašóu̯laxīpa," untranslated; see pp. 1261-1262 in the original text/. It threatens every canoe, lifts out the occupants, and sucks them down into the depths. Each Lakū́ma has the habit of flattening himself out on the surface of the water so that his back protrudes a little. He waits in this fashion until a canoe approaches. It is hard to recognize the Lakū́ma from a distance. People often say that outwardly he is like a whale; others compare him to the calamary hū́ka (Loligo subulata or squid) which is not uncommon in those regions; still others to the ray. He is also said to be large and very strong, "a great monster like a huge worm" /cited in English/, according to Spencer:80. If the occupants of a canoe have unwittingly come within reach of the monster, they rarely succeed in escaping disaster, and only if the Lakū́ma is sleeping or in a good mood.

He does not merely attack a canoe and its occupants. It is also within his power to cause high waves and threatening storms if he wants to endanger a vessel. That is why the Yamana avoid the regions presumably occupied by a Lakū́ma. Emilia told me: "When I was still a girl, my family planned to leave Wulaia and travel north. On the very morning we intended to leave, the yḗkamuš who later became my father-in-law had a dream and told us, full of anxiety: 'Be careful, or disaster will befall you!' In his dream he saw a mighty Lakū́ma suddenly tip over our boat as it

/1285 cont./

776 was leaving Yaiaašága and pull it down to the bottom with the utmost speed. It hit bottom so forcefully that it immediately bounded back to the surface. This downward and upward movement was so instantaneous that the water on both sides formed a solid wall and not a drop entered the canoe. When the yékamuš told us that, we set out in another direction." Since then Emilia avoids even mentioning the Lakúma because she is so afraid of him.

Nelly Lawrence related a personal experience. "I was still a girl when a woman from the east came to my native region [in the west]. Once I rowed out in a canoe with her. Suddenly this woman discovered a large Lakúma lying flat on the bottom of the sea. The people in the east eat the meat of the Lakúma, which is something we in the west would never do. The woman immediately reached for her crab fork sírsa (Fig. 62, p.258) and said: 'I'll spear that one, he will give us a tasty morsel!' I was terribly frightened when I saw the animal, but the woman pierced his head with her sírsa. The Lakúma acted extremely wild and swam off with the crab fork. The woman clung to the fork for a while and the whole /1286/ boat was dragged along with it. Finally the woman was obliged to let go of her sírsa and the Lakúma escaped." Bridges (a)P211 also mentioned the action of this spirit: "They believe in a sea monster they call Lucooma, who causes tides and whirlpools, and instances are known, when canoes having been in danger from a whirlpool or tide rip, of children and dogs being thrown overboard to appease the wrath of Lucooma" /cited in English/. The assertion that a child is sacrificed to the Lakúma in order to appease him was repeated by a certain Fenton from Punta Arenas who only once in his life, on a two-day journey, crossed Yamana territory, as well as by Furlong (cf. Cooper:153). Not a single Yamana could tell me personally of a definite instance of this kind; they all unanimously and positively denied that a child or a dog had ever been sacrificed to Lakúma. Fred Lawrence regarded it as absolutely impossible that the Yamana could have decided to do such a thing. It is true that out of considerations of safety, if there is grave danger, they may let a heavy piece of wood or a large sea lion fall into the water to lighten the boat (250). In doing so someone perhaps once thought of

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250. Spegazzini (a):172 maintains that the

/1286 cont./

776 Yamana believe in whirlwinds "produced by evil spirits, and to appease them, they throw some limbs and pieces of wood in the water" /translated from Spanish/. This statement probably rests on inaccurate observation; the Indians told me that such a custom was unknown to them.

Lakū́ma, *but this is neither a general rule nor a sign of venera*tion of Lakū́ma or a cult. The mere fact that in their accounts the Yamana do not even agree about the size and shape of the Lakū́ma clearly shows that the latter are only figments of the imagination, which are more vivid in one person than in another. Moreover, it is said that every yĕkamuš has favorable relations with the Lakū́ma, and whenever he starts singing they let him pass unharmed.

173 776 The Yamana tell the following Lakū́ma wátuwa. In ancient times some people traveled to Kaluwĕllawaja. Here there are many Lakū́ma, but these people did not know it. Soon the Lakū́ma approached and all the people lost their canoes. They barely escaped with their lives to a beach where there was no wood whatever. For a long time they were without fire, and finally they had nothing left to eat. On the other side there was a nice spot with plenty of wood. Then one day a man saw something lying on the surface of the water. It was quite broad and flat. Soon additional objects of this kind gathered. He looked closely and saw that these were only Lakū́ma lying there, one beside the other. Finally there were so many that they extended from one shore to the other. They were lying completely motionless. One of the men said: "If we quickly step over all of them, we shall reach the other shore!" He did this, ran quickly, and reached the opposite beach. Immediately the other two men tried it, as well as the women and children. The latter went too slowly, however, /1287/ and all the Lakū́ma submerged, disappearing into the water, and took all those people with them (250/sic/). The

250. The same strange motif is repeated in another context (p. 1177).

/1287 cont./

Lakúma seriously harm everyone who happens to come within their reach.

The one man was saved, however, and he was a great yékamuš. He then went to the other people, called them together, and told them everything. He said: "We must now make many yékus and kill those Lakúma down there!" Immediately the men undertook this work. Then they attacked the Lakúma and killed many of them. They were lying on the bottom. If one comes to this place today, he will see many flat stones on the bottom. They are the Lakúma who, holding themselves flat, slowly sank with all those people and still lie in the water at that place.

Moreover, there is the following story about the disobedient girl, tï'kipa wátewa, for which I am likewise indebted to old Whaits (251). A girl who is tï'ki may not eat berries. Now

251. A shorter version was told to me earlier by a few women and given on page 571.

there was once a tï'kipa who felt a great desire to taste some berries. The girl ran away secretly, sat down in the woods, and ate many amájim. Actually the girl did not eat the berries and swallow them; she merely pressed them against her teeth and squeezed the juice out, throwing the solid parts away (252).

252. In this way the girl believed she could get around the literal meaning of the clear and distinct prohibition.

None of her family knew about it.

Soon afterward the family of the tï'kipa was traveling across a wide inlet when a large Lakúma appeared on the surface and threatened them all. In their terror they immediately threw a lot of mussels, birds, and pieces of meat into the water, but the Lakúma did not release the canoe. The girl stayed hidden in the bottom of the canoe and did not look up at all. Then the people seized their dog and threw him overboard, but the Lakúma

/1287 cont./

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776 was not satisfied with that either. In their despair the people now took hold of a little girl and tossed her into the water; the girl sank very quickly. Nevertheless, the Lakúma still did not release the canoe. Finally the people seized the big girl, the [illegible], and shoved her overboard. Lakúma seized her avidly and, quick as lightning, sank down into the depths with her. Soon the entrails [of that girl] rose up and floated on the surface. This made the people very sad. After a time the Lakúma reappeared on the surface and stretched out, making himself very flat. Then the people discovered on his back a great many mussels of such uncommon size that they had never before seen any like them (253). The men reached for them and /1288/ took a few off his back. Their shells were particularly sharp. In their rage the men quickly cut up the whole Lakúma with them, tore out his entrails, and dismembered him completely. The Lakúma was dead immediately and sank to the bottom of the sea. At the same instant the canoe began to move, although no one was using the oars, and in no time at all it reached the shore. The people breathed a sigh of relief. But the girl was lost, for she had tasted the berries as a [illegible].

253. It is well known that there are numerous parasites on the back of an old whale, especially Balanus and Coronula types. This sentence refers to them.

This story, which obviously has a pedagogic aim, is definitely regarded as a myth, [illegible], not as an actual experience of a known family. I suspect that Bridges (a):211 heard something about it and interpreted the genuinely mythical material as an actual occurrence. In any case, it is certain that the Lakúma should be regarded as creations of the imagination and the fear of our exceedingly superstitious Fuegians.

3. The Forest Giants

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776 Inasmuch as the figure of the giant and man-eater Čáskels exists among the Selk'nam (Vol. 1, 593), it is not strange that

/1288 cont./

171 our Yamana tell about many giant-like spirits which make the
173 Cape Horn Archipelago unsafe. If one compares the mythologi-
176 cal material of the two tribes, it becomes clear that among the Selk'nam it is well organized and richer, but that there are also considerable differences. In any case, a comparison with the Yôli is recommended.

The giants are called Hánuš. People say that there are a
176 considerable number scattered through the country. Each one lives only in the forest, and he hides behind thick tree-trunks whenever a human being approaches. Each one also rules over a certain area where he lives all by himself; he regularly roams alone in all directions through it and only very rarely do several Hánuš gather somewhere. Each one is at least twice as tall as an adult Yamana. He goes about stark naked, for his body hair is almost as thick as the wool of the guanaco.

If a Yamana wanders through a lonely forest all by himself or lies down to sleep in it, the Hánuš approaches him. Out of fear of meeting the giant, people therefore avoid penetrating far into the forest and usually stay close to the edge. Even from there they can hear the crashing of trees and the breaking of twigs wherever he sets foot. They also often hear a storm-like howling of the wind, which announces his approach. Thus warned, everyone who can hastens to safety. It is best for the person to get into his canoe and row out to the open channel where the Hánuš cannot follow him. This giant prefers to surprise men and women who have fallen asleep; /1289/ he robs them and slays them. At night he also comes near the huts that have been erected at the edge of the forest, especially if they shelter only a few people, whom he murders. He watches particularly for lazy women who have come into the forest to gather wood or berries and instead have lain down and gone to sleep. Cautiously and softly he creeps up to them and makes them fall into a deep sleep. Then he lives with them and satisfies his desire. As for young women, he likes best to drag them to his quarters where they are at his mercy. Every Hánuš is considered a lecherous fellow. He likes to give men a hard blow with his mighty club and leave them lying in the woods. He likes best of all to chase half-grown children, especially girls. When he

/1289 cont./

776 catches them, he drags them into the forest where he lives. His shelter is almost always a large cave deep in the forest in which on occasion this or that Hánnuš establishes himself. Here he keeps all the children he has caught; he paints their bodies uniformly red and often plays with them. Like himself, these children are stark naked. They must stay with him the rest of their lives. This Hánnuš folk is very numerous. In exceptional cases Hánnuš will let a child whom he does not like escape, especially during the first few days after he has caught it, so that it can return to its parents. All Hánnuš are male and they are always fully mature.

Some of my informants were of the opinion that the Hánnuš had formerly lived among ordinary human beings and that they had later retired to the forest. Since then they have been hostile to human beings, especially to men. The Hánnuš slays every man he can find for the sheer pleasure of murder. Naturally, the Yamana stay away from those places where they are more often aware of a Hánnuš; under no circumstances would they spend the night in the forest.

Bridges (a):211 referred to the Hánnuš: "These Indians believe in ghosts, in wild men of the woods, called Kanoosh /sic/... Some of them pretend to have seen and killed hanoosh, but they never prove their bravery by showing any part of the body, which is said to be very dreadful. They have many hanoosh tales. Ocoko supposes the hanooshes to be men who either in madness, or after a murder, have run away into the woods, and so became wild" /cited in English/. Later he (i):15 and (k):237 supplemented this somewhat; Cojazzi:106, Dabbene (b):203, and Hyades (q):256 rely on his authority (254).

254. Elsewhere Bridges (e):322 writes quite vaguely: The Yamana "believed in the existence of mad people in the woods, to which they attributed supernatural powers and the greatest hostility toward the human race. They were very much afraid of them and they never dared go great distances into the woods alone." This best fits the forest giants.

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Still earlier Fitz-Roy (a):180 learned of these forest giants and reported a story that fits them, but he did not call them by their right name: /1290/ "A great black man is supposed to be always wandering about the woods and mountains, who is certain of knowing every word and every action; who cannot be escaped, and who influences the weather according to men's conduct. York related a curious story of his own brother who had committed a murder. 'In woods of my country,' said he, 'some men go about alone; very wild men -- have no belly (meaning probably that they were very thin), live by stealing from other men.' He then went on to say, that his brother had been getting birds out of a cliff, and, on coming down, hid them among some long rushes, and went away. Soon afterwards he returned, and, seeing feathers blown away by the wind from the spot, suspected what was going on; so taking a large stone in his hand, he crept stealthily towards the place, and there saw one of these wild men plucking a bird which he had got out of the cliff. Without saying a word, he dashed the stone at the wild man's head, and killed him on the spot. Afterwards York's brother was very sorry for what he had done, particularly when it began to blow very hard. York said, in telling the story, 'rain come down -- snow come down -- hail come down -- wind blow very much. Very bad to kill man. Big man in woods no like it, he very angry.' At the word 'blow,' York imitated the sound of a strong wind; and he told the whole story in a very low tone of voice, and with a mysterious manner; considering it an extremely serious affair" /cited in English/ (255).

255. Darwin (d):247 repeated some of this verbatim.

As may be gathered from this story, a Yamana will now and then tell about his personal encounter with Hánnus, of his struggle and combat with him (256). Nelly Lawrence repeated

256. Bridges (k):237 made the same observation: "Anecdotes about the exploits of the Hannushes pass from mouth to mouth

/1290 cont./

> and tell how one person or another met one of these beings, how he fought, conquered, and killed him, and other stories of the same kind" /translated from Spanish/.

the following to me on April 10, 1923: "My uncle was once staying on an island and was looking for trees in which cormorants were perched; he wanted to catch a few. He carefully noted the individual spots. In the evening he went back there and saw an unusually thick ball on a tree. He immediately threw his sling at it and the ball fell to the ground with a loud bang. Frightened, he hurried back to his hut; the night was dark. The next morning by daylight he and his brother [Nelly's father] went back to that spot. Very close to it there was a deep, inconspicuous cave. Here lay the disfigured body of a Hánnuš. To this day the large heavy bones of the Hánnuš are lying there; I saw them with my own eyes."

Somewhat later Nelly told me of another incident. "Many years ago my father hunted in the forest for bark for a new canoe. He was weary and sat down on a tree trunk and fell asleep. Softly a Hánnuš crept up and gave him a heavy blow on the head with his club. My father sank down and lay motionless. /1291/ Then the Hánnuš felt him all over and believed him to be dead. He laid my father on a grassy spot in the woods and covered him with brush. He left my father lying there and hastened away. Although my father was severely wounded, he carefully observed what the Hánnuš was doing and pretended to be dead. It was only after two days that he carefully got up and, unobserved, dragged himself back to his hut. On the beach his wife and we children had waited for him for a long time with anxious concern. We thought he had had an accident, for he was away three days. Then he told us what had happened. It was a long time before he recovered from that blow." Old Whaits told me in the presence of a few families: "I know a boy among my kinsmen who was very reckless and unafraid. Once, in the canoe with his family, he came to a place where there were a few Hánnuš. The boy did not know anything about it, so he walked all around freely and fearlessly. His mother warned him: 'Be careful and do not go too far away from us into the forest!' The boy paid

/1291 cont./

776 no attention to this warning, but ran farther and farther away and played, all unsuspecting, with his little harpoon. At twilight a Hánnuš surprised this boy and dragged him away with him."

There are even two actual myths which are devoted to 776 Hánnuš. The first one goes as follows. Once a Hánnuš fell in 773 love with Max̣utuwěrželakīpa. She was an extraordinarily beautiful woman, besides being sly and crafty. She herself would have nothing to do with Hánnuš and always repulsed him whenever he approached her and wanted to caress her. At first he was disappointed. Later it vexed him very much to have come so often in vain to the hut of Max̣utuwě́rželakīpa. Finally he threatened to kill her if she did not give herself to him.

This woman lived on an island. It happened to be winter. When the Hánnuš threatened to return with many other Hánnuš to bring about her ruin, she began thinking seriously of defending herself. Quickly she erected a solid hut and covered it with strong pieces of bark. She left the entrance especially narrow and low. Opposite this entrance she left a little hole. She put brush in front of it and no one would have noticed it. She knew how to make fine, strong crab-forks, sírsa (Fig. 62), and she always had a supply of them.

One evening the Hánnuš again came to see this woman and brought with him a few companions. She was well prepared, however. When she saw the Hánnuš approaching her hut, which was covered with large pieces of bark, she quickly crawled through the narrow rear opening out into the open, and when Hánnuš entered, he did not find her. He turned to the entrance and looked out. While he was bending over and trying to squeeze through, the woman raised up slightly in her hiding place and forcefully thrust a crab fork into his seat. The Hánnuš cried out in pain and quickly squeezed out through the /1292/ narrow entrance. Another Hánnuš pushed into the hut; he wanted to see what had happened. But he did not find Max̣utuwě́rželakīpa either. When he, too, bent over to crawl out, the woman, with a vigorous stab, drove a sírsa into his seat, also. He had to cry out, and instantly he forced himself out through the narrow opening. He dragged the sírsa with him, sticking in his seat. The other Hánnuš were astonished at this. Still a third ventured into the

/1292 cont./
776 773 hut, looked about for the woman, and, like the others, could not find her. He stood at the entrance and from within called to the other Hánnuš: "I don't find the woman here!" As he bent over to slide out, Maxutuwḗrɬelakīpa from her hiding place thrust a crab fork into his seat also. He was hardly able to move because of the pain, for the sī́rsa had penetrated very deeply. He squeezed out and dragged the sī́rsa in his seat with him until another Hánnuš pulled it out. He yelled terribly. Then the other Hánnuš began to feel uneasy. They talked it over and decided: "It will be best if we all leave as quickly as possible!" They got up and hastened back into the depths of the forest.

The crafty Maxutuwḗrɬelakīpa over there on the island had long beforehand dragged all her things to another place on the beach. When the Hánnuš were far enough away, she crept out of her hiding place and hurried down to the shore. It was deep winter and the channel was frozen over. She walked on the thick coating of ice which did not break through. As she moved forward she broke off small pieces of ice behind her. Scarcely had she reached the center of the channel when the Hánnuš arrived at the top of the nearby hill. From there they saw Maxutuwḗrɬelakīpa. They were seized with rage and hurried down the hill to the shore; they wanted to murder that miserable woman who had hoodwinked them all. But Maxutuwḗrɬelakīpa called mockingly to the Hánnuš: "Come right along, I'll wait for you here!" Then the ones who were first ran out on the ice. They thought it was still that large, continuous piece of hard, immovable ice across which the woman had walked. But because she had cut up the solid sheet of ice into small floes, the first few Hánnuš sank immediately, for the small ice floes would not hold those large, heavy creatures. When the other Hánnuš on the shore saw the first ones drown, they stayed behind. They hurled threats at Maxutuwḗrɬelakīpa and turned back.

The actual purpose of this myth is to characterize the entire Hánnuš tribe as loutish and stupid. That is why they can be easily outwitted and fooled by a Yamana. Moreover, the Hánnuš are inferior creatures, as is shown in the following myth.

There was once a blind man who lived with his wife. Each of them slept /1293/ on a separate bed, with the fire between them.

/1293 cont./

776 One night a Hánnuš crept into this hut; he approached the woman and forced her to sleep with him. When the Hánnuš left, the old 113 man heard faint noises and asked his wife: "What is it that is rustling so strangely?" She replied: "Nothing is stirring here; don't become unnecessarily excited!" But after a while the old man realized that his wife was pregnant, and, indeed, she soon gave birth to a son. The blind man did not love this son at all; after all, he knew that it was not his child. And, indeed, this son was an unusual creature. After only a few days he was quite a bit larger, he could walk and climb, and he immediately worked diligently for his parents. He particularly helped the blind man because he thought he was his real father.

When this son went into the forest, he sometimes came across strange signs on the trees. He asked himself: "Where could these signs come from? My blind father surely did not put them there." One day when he again spoke these words, a Hánnuš looked out from behind a tree and said pleasantly: "I am the one who made these signs!" The little boy was silent because he was afraid of the Hánnuš. The latter continued: "So my own son is frightened of me?" The little boy wondered about this and ran back to the hut. The words of the Hannuš had offended him, so he asked his mother: "It can't be that I have two fathers, can it?" The blind father also heard his question. Full of anger, he now explained to the little one that his mother one night slept with a Hánnuš. The mother denied it and said: "That is not true. It was only in a dream that a Hánnuš once came to my bed!" In spite of that, the little one kept on working industriously for the blind old man, but he did not love the Hánnuš who was his real father.

One day the little boy was again busy in the woods. His father, the Hánnuš, approached him, took him in his arms, and carried him to the place where his large Hánnuš family dwelt in a spacious cave. Many Hánnuš were assembled here, but they were all very strange creatures. Some of them had four eyes, others only one; a few had no heads, others had their faces on their chests; some had but one leg, others but one arm, and still others were deformed in some other way. All of them without exception now came dashing up and gaped inquisitively at the

/1293 cont./

●776 173 stranger. After a time old Hánnuš accompanied his son back to place in the woods from where he had taken him. But the little boy was very ill at ease. Afterward he told the Yamana in minute detail what he had experienced with the Hánnuš folk. He continued to work industriously for the blind old man.

776 538 These two myths alone show clearly enough that the Hánnuš spirits are not even remotely the objects of a cult or of religious veneration (257). The Yamana say that /1294/ a generation ago the Hánnuš were seen for the last time here in their forests. Since then no one has seen a trace of them. On long winter evenings, if two or three families are living in the same hut or if a number of families are camping at the same place for some time, they love to tell stories of the Hánnuš and to repeat their own experiences with these creatures (p. 33). The stories are appropriate to the winter season, so to speak. In summertime the requisite mood is lacking. One evening, on my third expedition, the people spoke in great detail about everything they knew in connection with the Hánnuš. Blind Whaits was present. In the midst of the conversation he asked innocently: "Is winter so near at hand that you begin telling stories about the Hánnuš?"

The old men did not hide from me their regret that the young and middle-aged people no longer believe the stories and reports about Hánnuš and laugh at them as products of self-deception or imagination. They prove it by saying: "Sometimes we have worked for weeks deep in the forest (258) and never saw the least sign of a Hánnuš; much less were we molested by Hánnuš!" This is the opinion of the modern, enlightened generation of Yamana. The old people nevertheless cling steadfastly to their

257. Bridges (k):237 confirms this: "The natives never worshipped or revered cushpik, hannush, or any other being whatsoever" /translated from Spanish/.

258. This was work in sawmills for Europeans or on roads commissioned by the government.

/1294 cont./

776 belief and are ready now and then to recount with firm conviction their favorite stories. Much of what the imagination of the Yamana attributes to the Hánnuš is to be found among the Selk'nam in their Yóši (Vol. I, 697).
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4. The Guardian Spirits

776 Yamana ideas about the Yefáčel are nowhere near as extensive and definite as those about the Hánnuš. The reason is probably that the yékamuš to a great extent claim these spirits for themselves. That is why the rest of the people are not aware that they, too, actually have such a guardian spirit assigned to them.

The older Yamana, who are somewhat more thoughtfully concerned with this belief, are agreed about the personality of these Yefáčel. Richard, as well as a few Indian women, described them to me as follows. The Yefáčel are very small figures "only the size of a thumb." They are conspicuous because they are bald; each of them has only three or four long hairs which stand upright in the region of the crown of its head. There is about an equal number of male and female Yefáčel. They wear no clothes, but go about stark naked. /1295/ Mašemikens was alone in the opinion that the Yefáčel are exclusively male, and everyone very definitely denied it. There is a considerable number of Yefáčel, but only a yékamuš is able to see them in dreams.

As for the relationship of the Yefáčel to human beings and in particular their power, our Indians believe that each person has his own Yefáčel. It is the task of the yékamuš, as soon as possible after a child is born to "settle" a Yefáčel on him, that is, to assign him one. "Everyone must have his Yefáčel!" is repeatedly and emphatically declared. The yékamuš gives every person a Yefáčel of the corresponding sex; thus a boy gets a male Yefáčel. If, by mistake, a newborn child has not been given this guardian spirit, the omission must be remedied at the next opportunity, at any rate at the next lóima yékamuš, the gathering of medicine men. The first and most important task of the

/1295 cont./

776 Yefáčel is to protect the person entrusted to him from sickness and physical harm. Beyond that, he also protects the person from all kinds of danger. In view of this, one may regard the Yefáčel as "guardian spirits" of human beings. If a child falls [753] ill, the parents believe the chief reason is that it has not yet been assigned a Yefáčel. Immediately a yékamuš is requested to do this. A person who has a Yefáčel enjoys good health throughout his life, and that is why "everyone must have his Yefáčel!" When a human being dies, his Yefáčel leaves him and thereafter wanders about alone as an orphan, independent of the others. The Yamana have nothing to say about the above and way of life of these Yefáčel. The yékamuš, however, add that the orphaned Yefáčel prefer the so-called "dangerous places." From there they continue to be on good terms with the yékamuš and are forever helpful to them.

The relationship of every human being to his Yefáčel, my informants unanimously agreed, is like that of father and son or mother and daughter, in other words, extremely favorable and very intimate. The yékamuš has an even closer association with his Yefacel. Although the yékamuš assigns a Yefáčel to each person, he need not direct him thereafter. I was assured with great earnestness, however, that all Yefáčel must obey Watau̯inéi̯wa and his decrees just as willingly and subserviently as must human beings, for "the Yefáčel are dependent upon him, just like all yámana [human beings]!" On this occasion someone ventured the statement: "Watau̯inéi̯wa also has his Yefáčel." The other people present very definitely showed by their expressions that they did not agree with this assumption, nor was anyone able to explain who might have assigned such a Yefáčel to Watau̯inéi̯wa. From certain previous statements it is easy to conclude why the complete name of these guardian spirits is Yefáčel xéo̯la, "little spirit." Many Indians use the word Yapáčel instead.

776 Bridges mentioned these little guardian spirits several times and /1296/ always only in connection with the yékamuš. It is 756 true that the Yefáčel means much more to a medicine man than to an ordinary human being, for the spirit performs special services for him in the activities of his calling. In Bridges (a):212 it is said: The Yefáčel "is a doctor's son and appears to doctors

/1296 cont./

•776 156 in their dreams, tells them many things" /cited in English/ (259).

> 259. And again at (k):238: "The yecamush claims to have dealings with beings called yapahchel, and they are the ones who give him the power to see and do fabulous things, especially to cure and to kill" /translated from Spanish/.

In BD:661 one reads: "Yapáčal, a being of more than human power and sagacity whom the yĕkamuš claimed as their inspiring power and instructor" /cited in English/. If, referring to this, Bridges believes that this designation also means "spirits of men, especially such as have been killed by violence" /cited in English/, I must reject this as inaccurate. A special relationship between a yĕkamuš and his Yefáčel is universally recognized, and it will be discussed below. Here it should merely be pointed out that there is a belief in thumb-sized guardian spirits, from whose large number every person is assigned his Yefáčel for the rest of his life.

b. Forms of Superstition

787 Several groups of definite spirits have just been named and described. These are not independent beings which actually exist, but are present only in Yamana belief. To this extent they must be regarded as objects of superstition. For various reasons they were treated separately, first of all, because each group is an individual, definite phenomenon. This is not true of the figures which appear in dreams and the many superstitious views which are linked with some definite circumstance.

1. Dreams

787 154 The fact that the Yamana dream a great deal must be traced back to their alertness in everyday life and to their very vivid imaginations. Almost every morning one of the adults in a family

/1362 cont./

β. The Individual Spirits

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The various personalities which are presented as spirits comprise an astonishingly large number. They are not definite character types with pronounced characteristics, such as the Kloketen spirits, but rather are portrayed chiefly as spirits of well-known animals with slight indications of the characteristic coloring of the skin or feathers of these animals. The spirit is not recognizable by his peculiar behavior or characteristic dance, but the leader designates him loudly by name. The body painting of the dancer also suggests the natural outward appearance of whatever animal is portrayed.

Each spirit that is in any way mentioned in the Kina performance, even if it should not appear before the women, has a name. Usually this is nothing more than the customary designation for a particular animal species, /1363/ combined with the word yāka, "performance" (305). A few spirits also have their own proper names. These are the personalities to whom special power is ascribed here in the Kina, and their names indicate their distinctiveness or ranking. The long list that I became acquainted with follows.

At the top of the list is Lēxakīpa. According to the Yamana, she is the guardian spirit that rules over everything here in the Great Hut. She assumes importance solely during the Kina celebration, and otherwise she is not even mentioned, much less invoked. During the course of the celebration, however, she proves to be a helper and rescuer for all the participants. This female guardian spirit is favorably disposed toward the men and invariably benevolent. I was told: "Just as Watauinéiwa stands over everything in the čiéxaus [over the whole affair], observes [ruling] all

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305. In BD:659 one finds yāga and yāka, "Imitation of resembling, after the different names of birds which or rather the traditional accounts of which were acted in the various drama like scenes of the ceena and murana and others" /cited in English/.

/1363 cont./

X 575 the participants, and is kindly disposed toward everyone, so Lexakipa stands in relation to the Kina hut. She regulates every-
●776 thing, guides all the participants, and protects everyone. Therefore everyone must yield to her. In the Kina we do not speak of Watauineiwa, but of Lexakipa. Our ancient tradition determines how each participant should behave during this celebration; this is our law, the way Watauineiwa wants it. Anyone who acts contrary to these rules and divulges the secret is called to account by Watauineiwa and is punished by an untimely death." Accordingly, the Supreme Being is the ultimate basis for the Kina arrangement, too, but without any direct connection with this celebration or with Lexakipa. In answer to my question as to how this guardian spirit became connected with the Great Hut, I was told: "We do not know that. This festival was taken over by the men exactly as the women performed the kina at Usuwaia. We ourselves have added nothing new. So Lexakipa must have been a guardian spirit of the Kina even at that time!" To the extent that Lexakipa possesses supreme power, she towers above mighty Tanuwa and all the spirits. The Yamana do not say that these spirits are commanded by her or directly subservient to her. As a guardian spirit it is incumbent upon her to defend the men present against the illusory arbitrariness and torture of the other spirits, to heal the wounded men, and to restore to life those who have been killed. Such details are shouted over to the camp by the leader who each time places himself beside the Great Hut. He puts as much seriousness and conviction into his words as though real events were taking place, yet his explanations are nothing more than conscious attempts to dupe the women. Lexakipa is never shown in any form to the others outside the Great Hut (306).

306. The same superior position that Lexakipa occupies in the Kina is accorded to Xalpen in the Kloketen of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 916).

One of the dangerous Kina spirits is Tanuwa who surpasses all the others in brutality /1364/ and is therefore feared the most. Only Lexakipa is able to curtail his actions effectively. The men

/1364 cont./

x575 imitate his temporary sojourn in the Great Hut in noisy excitement. 776 They call attention to him chiefly when they want to frighten and warn the uśwạ́ala. During an alleged appearance of Tā́nuwa in the Great Hut, the faces of the candidates are covered, and they are all required to lie down so that the salutary dread induced by this spirit will penetrate deeply and last a long time. The men then communicate with one another only by signs. The anxiously trilled lalala...does not lead one to expect a good-natured spirit. The women outside soon recognize the various signs that mean Tā́nuwa has arrived.

x575 To begin with, in order to intimidate the candidates, the leader pours a small amount of water on the embers of the hut fire to produce a soft sizzling. He asks distinctly for the benefit of the uśwạ́ala: "What's going on here?" Soon afterward a broad stream of water is poured on the embers. A cloud of steam with a quantity of ashes rises up with a loud sizzling, and the men set up an alarming roar. They get up hastily and dance around the fire in wild leaps while a single man beats on the ground a few times with a wad of dry leather. This noise suddenly ceases and complete silence follows. After about ten minutes old Thomas goes outside and stands in front of the hut entrance. He cries sorrowfully: "Attention! I do not know what has happened here and what we must be prepared for. Something is soon going to happen. Watch out!" Sure enough, soon all the men get up, leap back and forth and stamp on the ground, seize one another and struggle amid a frightful howling and bellowing cries of desperation. Some of them beat the ground with a ball of leather, while amidst all this shrill cries of alarm resound; the greatest effort is made to feign dreadful confusion. Then the noise gradually subsides and finally ceases altogether with faint gurgling sounds. At the same time the men lie down on their sides and remain motionless in an irregular heap. The air is filled with an impenetrable cloud of dust and ashes.

After many minutes Santiago gets up and asks in a loud voice so that the pupils in the Kina hut as well as the people in the camp can hear his words: "What a picture before me! All the men around me have been slain. Woe is me, I, too, feel weak because I have suffered a bad blow. This man and that one are dead, all of them lie there motionless. I go from one to the

/1365 cont./

x 575 They finally all get up, arrange themselves in a row, one behind the other, and, in a stooped position and with short steps, they go over to the camp. In a monotone and with a well-defined rhythm they constantly repeat sakamakasá... They go close to the huts so that every woman can see their bleeding faces and their pitiful expressions. After completing the circuit of the huts they again disappear into the Great Hut. Then without making a sound but in very explicit pantomime they give full expression to their satisfaction over the successful prank. It is not until later that one of the men finally removes the blindfolds from the ušwā́ala. The latter are still trembling in fear of Tā́nuwa and believe that he and Lẹ́xakīpa have actually appeared. Obviously the purpose is to frighten first the candidates and second the women with Tā́nuwa, in order to fill everyone with fear and respect for the Kina secret. /1366/ Thus a person who is in the Great Hut for the first time as an ušwā́ala does not learn the true nature of Tā́nuwa; this is revealed to him only when he participates later at another ceremony. This spirit is never portrayed in any kind of mask. BD:421 says of Tā́nuwa, "a being personified in the ceena drama, was supposed to come up out of the earth, he was an old man and did not come forth and leap about but lay still in the ceena and beat the earth and brayed" /cited in English/.

● [776] Čīníku, who is also a man-murdering spirit, is more malevolent than Tā́nuwa. He comes down from heaven to attend a Čīníku-yā́ka; the men announce his arrival with very frightened hṓho calls. He likes best to murder the men and drag them away, just as a hunter kills sea lions and loads them up. This spirit is painted red all over, with a few white spots the size of the palm of one's hand. His head is covered with a loosely hanging piece of leather painted white. His son is decked out in the same way. He scarcely steps inside the circle of men when they set up a frightened howling and desperate screaming. One after another yells as though he were being murdered and then falls completely silent. Čīníku now rolls all these men to the hut entrance where they lie in a confused heap without moving; they have been "murdered" by him! He pushes the last few men farther away from the hut entrance. The women watch his fit of rage against

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X 575 sympathy. Then for several seconds there is deep silence in the Great Hut. One of the men rolls up a large, stiff piece of leather; another cleans a spot on the ground that has been stamped down. /1368/ The first man lifts his arm in a wide sweep and strikes down hard. One of the participants cries agá in a terribly loud voice, as though he had been mortally wounded by this blow, and lets his voice slowly fade away as though he were dying. After a pause there is a second blow; again a man cries out and lets his cry trail off in the same way. This goes on until all the men, including the candidates, "have been killed by the spirit." The women know how many men are assembled in the Great Hut and pay careful attention to the number of death cries. None of the men disguises his voice in order that the members of his family will recognize him. During the next few minutes nothing stirs in the Great Hut, "for they are all dead." At a signal from the leader two or three men commence a joyous, rapid, high-pitched lalala...which is supposed to announce the approach of their deliverer Léxakīpa. A few minutes later all the men utter a loud, high-pitched, jubilant xā. This is to announce that they have been restored to life by Léxakīpa. Now, however, they also want to prove to the women what tortures they have suffered. One or two of them will poke around in his nose with a small pointed stick until blood flows. He not only smears this on his own face, but willingly gives some to other men. With these "proofs" of mistreatment by Yamálakemana each appears before the members of his family, who look at him sympathetically and silently pity him. When after an hour or two the men have again assembled in their Kina hut, they are immensely pleased over their successful performance.

Similar to the spirit that has just been described is Kōyutuláikīpa, a murderess. She visits the Great Hut twice at the most during the Kina festival and "murders" the men just as Yamálakemana does. The leader announces her arrival in a loud voice. After this appearance, too, all the men show themselves to their families in the camp with blood on their faces.

X 575 Besides Léxakīpa, who is superior to all the spirits, the Yamana also mention a few subordinate guardian spirits who are ●776 well disposed toward the assembled men and helpful to them in all 302

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575 kinds of situations. In the final analysis each spirit is more or
776 less kindly disposed toward all those who have assembled in the
362 Kina hut. Kinamiáma chiefly sees to it that no woman approaches the Great Hut or does any kind of damage. He is presented soon after the beginning of the festival. He can be recognized by the many red and black transverse lines, the width of two fingers and separated by spaces equally wide, which are drawn on a white background and run from the tip of the mask to the knees. All the spirits have their shanks and feet painted uniformly white, no matter what name or characteristics they have.

Tuləa-yáka. This good-natured guardian spirit also appears at the very beginning of the festival. On the right and left side he wears two vertical stripes a handbreadth wide upon a white background. Apparently this identification is connected with tuləatéčix, the name for the small Centrites niger.

/1369/ Tukáči-yáka is likewise a benign helper and protector of the men. The man who portrays him paints several vertical rows of red dots set close together on a white background all over his body.

Kínajagəllum. It is said of this spirit that he takes extraordinary pleasure in sitting with the men in the Kina hut. That is the only reason he comes down from heaven. The man who portrays him first rubs his body with red color; from his neck to his genitals there is a white stripe the width of three fingers, from which three transverse stripes originate. There are four white rings on either arm. SD:165 also briefly mentions kínajagəllum without giving any explanation.

Ulamúčaka, the performance of the forest spirit. This spirit is regarded as having an especially close connection with the Kina. He is portrayed with a red body painting upon which are drawn a few vertical white lines leading down from the shoulders. SD:88 says of Illemina, "he was a man disguised by paint and a conical bark hat who acted the part of a lustful spirit in the presence of women whom he went to meet and speak to" /cited in English/.

Wəyúŋačaka, the performance of the sea spirit. He is shown with elaborate painting. On a white background many small red semicircles are drawn close together to represent fish scales. This spirit is shaped like a fish, is the "son" of a whale,

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and appears as such, usually accompanied by two men painted in the same way. The Yamana say that he is well disposed toward human beings. It is said that sometimes he emerges from the depths beside a canoe and shows himself to the occupants; his head and torso are as beautiful as those of a mature girl; in place of legs he has the hind parts of a large fish, and around his forehead there is a thick wreath of beech twigs. One can be sure of recognizing him by this sign. Once, adorned only with this wreath of twigs, he left the Great Hut and, in the company of two young men who were unpainted, he went over to the camp. His arrival had been announced to the women by loud cries. Because there was a shortage of red pigment, he was supposed to fetch new supplies. Sure enough, every woman placed a small bag of ími outside her hut. The spirit passed along the huts, quietly and without saying a word, took each packet, gave it to his companions, and hastened back to the men's hut with the abundant presents (308).

> 308. This description reminds one of the performance of Hašē in the Kloketen of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 926). He, too, visits the dwellings and gathers red pigment for the "spirits" in the Great Hut.

Mēɣarā́ka is likewise a spirit who is kindly disposed toward the assemblage of men. On a white background he wears several vertical black dots the size of the palm of a hand which are distributed over his whole torso.

Yagā́ruwa-yā́ka, the performance of the spirit of the high seas. The performer's body is painted white and has only three evenly distributed vertical red stripes the width of a hand.

Hā́ni-yā́ka, the performance of the northern sky. This spirit, too, is a helper of the /1370/ men in the Kína hut. He supports them, above all, in singing and constantly gives them new strength. The performer paints his whole body, as well as the mask, uniformly white, adding seven black transverse lines as wide as a finger to the mask. BD:270 says: "hániaka, a play enacted in the ceena drama accompanied with painting, singing, and acting in supposed imitation of the N. wind" /cited in English/.

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575 776 302 *Asępakãjaka*, the performance of the southern sky. The painting for this is elaborate. The mask and the body are rubbed with white pigment. In addition the mask has seven black transverse lines as wide as a finger; the torso and arms have eight of these lines, and the legs, six. In each of the areas thus formed a red transverse line is added.

X 575 776 302 825 *Hašwãpisa-yáka*, the performance of the mighty blue whale (*Balaenoptera intermedia*). Powdered chalk mixed with blubber is rubbed on the body of the performer in vertical lines, the width of a finger, drawn close together and beginning at the peak of the mask. BD:269 writes "*hăsŭăpisa-iaka*, a certain play in the *ceena* drama imitative of whales" /cited in English/.

Sauyãnux-yáka, the performance of the short-beaked dolphin (*Lagenorhynchus fitzroyi*). The front part of the body and the center of the mask are covered with a vertical white stripe about 20 centimeters wide, on either side of which black color is applied.

Kíxisteka-yáka, the performance of the gray gerfalcon (*Circus cinereus*). The performer paints his body and his mask white, and upon this background he distributes irregular black dots.

Akimagãja-yáka, the performance of the falcon (*Ibycter australis*). The dancer paints his body white and applies a red line the width of three fingers from the peak of the mask across his chest to the genitals and another line around his body at the height of his navel.

Kilaxĩla-yáka, the performance of the buzzard (*Buteo poliosomus*). Dry *imi* powder is first rubbed over the entire body, and a few black dots are applied over it with the tip of the index finger.

Lérux-yáka, the performance of the gray-headed goose (*Cloephaga poliocephala*). The body of the performer from the armpits down is completely white, having been rubbed with powdered chalk. Above the armpits, and including the mask, it is rubbed with *imi* powder and is light red.

Kĩmpa-yáka, the performance of the Magellan goose (*Chloephaga picta*). The entire body is painted red, and large white dots are painted on the chest (309).

309. The Molinas goose (*Chloephaga hybrida*

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/kelp goose/), which is related to the two species above, is not portrayed. The Yamana say that it was already present at the time of the general upheaval, as it is to this day.

Alakuš-yéka, the performance of the steamer duck (*Tachyeres brachypterus*). The entire body and the mask are painted with white pigment. The nose and mouth are painted on the mask with red pigment. A black line as wide as three fingers is painted in a shallow arc from one shoulder to the other across the chest. /*1371*/

Wémarˇkipa-yéka, the performance of the small gull (*Larus glaucodes*). The performer paints his body and the mask white and applies short, fine, horizontal red lines all over it.

Tuwéliwa-yéka, the performance of the diving petrel (*Puffinus griseus* /sooty shearwater/). It suffices to paint the entire body uniformly black, an exact imitation of the natural coloring of this bird.

Wilegiléka, the performance of the brown gull-teaser *wilagila* (*Megalestris skua chilensis*). To portray this spirit the men paint their bodies and masks white. They draw six evenly spaced rows of short red lines from the upper part to the ankles. The mask is painted differently. On a white background four red stripes two fingers wide are drawn from the peak of the mask to the lower edge, and white transverse lines the width of a thumb are put in each stripe at close intervals.

Gihépa-yéka, the performance of the white albatross (*Diomedea exulans*, Fig. 88). For this performance mask and body are painted with powdered chalk mixed with water; the former, in the region of the nose, has a vertical red line as long as a finger. BD:366 writes "*gihépa čin*, the initiatory rite of the *cesma* drama" /cited in English/. -- The *gihépa-lipma-yéka* is peculiar. The men and the candidates paint their faces all white. A thin little stick which is slightly springy stretches from each corner of the mouth to the upper eyelid, so that the face is horribly distorted. They all squat close together at the low entrance, as though to barricade it. The *ušwáala* are in the center of the group. Each of them holds a bow and a quiver in his hand. These articles must be specially made, but are not carefully

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worked because they are not meant for use in hunting. With his front teeth each man holds a [illegible], that is, an arrowhead or spear point; in his hands he holds an unfinished basket on which he is working. When the group is assembled in this manner, one of the men summons the women and children. They may come up to within a few steps and silently look over the group. Neither words nor looks are exchanged, the men steadfastly keeping their eyes on the ground. After a few minutes the women are sent back again. The Yamana of the south and west have the same performance, but with the following variation. The men and the candidates paint their faces white and draw a black line the width of a finger from the outer corner of each eye to the ears. They all have a [illegible] between their teeth and in addition hold in their hands a drawn bow and an arrow which they aim at the women who are standing outside in front of the entrance. This pantomime also goes on in complete silence and lasts only a few minutes. No one was able to tell me its meaning.

[illegible]-yška, the performance of the sea dove (Daption capensis). The performer paints his body and mask completely white and then adds many black dots with his index finger. This is precisely the way this marine bird is marked.

/1372/ [illegible]-yška, the performance of the small diver (Podiceps caliparaeus). This bird, the size of a pigeon, has brownish-black feathers and a white tail. The person who portrays him as a spirit rubs a piece of dry charcoal all over his body, including his mask, and draws a white line, the width of a hand, from the navel to the genitals.

[illegible]-yška, the performance of the black cormorant (Phalacrocorax atriceps). The performer wears no mask. He rubs charcoal dust mixed with a little blubber all over his body. He paints his chest, the hairy part of his head, and his cheeks white and holds his arms as though he were supporting a mask. According to BD:274, [illegible] means "the black shag" /cited in English/ and this performance. Compare Figure 18 on page 133.

[illegible]-yška, the performance of the banded cormorant (Phalacrocorax gaimardi). The person who portrays this spirit wears a mask that is painted white. He rubs his body with dry charcoal dust and draws a very wide white stripe from his neck to his genitals.

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Ušwider¹-yáka, the performance of the oyster catcher (Haematopus ater). A red line, the width of two fingers, runs from the peak of the mask down the center. The whole body is white, with a black arc the width of a hand running across the chest from one shoulder to the other. BD:117 also mentions this performance. Compare Figure 76 on page 985.

Ílúša-yáka, the performance of the spectacled penguin (Spheniscus magellanicus). The performer paints his chest and belly white, the rest of his body, black. There is a wide black arc above each of the eye-holes of the white mask. BD:160 gives tušša-lgma.

Híjmus-yáka, the performance of the robalo (Eleginus maclovinus). A few vertical white lines from the neck over the chest and belly, as well as a few vertical black lines beginning at the armpits, suffice to portray this spirit. BD:261 also mentions haimuš-yaka.

Sína-yáka, the performance of the porcupine fish. On the uniformly white mask a red transverse line, the width of a finger, is painted at the level of the mouth. Many red semicircles are placed close together all over the body of the performer to represent fish scales. This design is very effective (310).

> 310. It is well known that, according to the legend, the child whose father was a sea lion and whose mother was the sister of the Yoalox brothers turned into this fish (p. 1149).

Ušši-yáka, the performance of the herring (Clupea pectinata). The mask and the entire body are painted uniformly white. On either side of the body a black line as wide as a hand runs from the armpits to the ankles.

Imakaj-yáka, the performance of the sea trout (Atherinichthys). The dancer draws many vertical white lines as wide as a finger and as long as a thumb irregularly all over his body and his mask.

Kalampáša-yáka, the performance of the fish Kalampáša. This fish has a broad head and its body tapers evenly from the head to the tail fin. The performer characterizes this spirit by means of small red semicircles over his entire body which he first painted white. His white mask /1373/ has a red transverse line, the width

X /*1373 cont.*/

575 of three fingers, in the region of the mouth. Now and then this
•776 spirit orders the men either to step out of the Great Hut in single
302 file, or, in the so-called *Kalampáša-mā́tu*, as individuals, to
825 see how the women are conducting themselves in their dwellings.
BD:178 also lists *kōlapǒša-iaka*.

Lepáluš-yā́ka, the performance of the little redfish. The performer must paint a great number of fine, vertical, finger-length red lines close together and on top of one another all over his body. The mask is white.

Hikufkalā́la-yā́ka, the performance of the jellyfish (Medusa). This also requires fine, vertical red lines about three centimeters long all over the body and the mask, but not in as great a number as in the preceding performance.

Húka-yā́ka, the performance of the small cuttlefish (octopus). The person who represents this spirit, sometimes also called *čīníku*, rubs dry *īmi* powder on his body and hangs a square piece of leather similarly colored loosely over his head in place of the pointed mask.

Yḗkēslḗf-yā́ka, the performance of the calamary (*Loligo subulata*). The dancer smears his whole body and the mask uniformly red. It is well known that *Yḗkēslēfkīpa* escaped when the men stormed the Kina hut. The painting just described is like the one that she wore at that time and which she still displays on her diminutive figure (p. 1247).

Kínaḻuš-yā́ka, the performance of the bluebottle fly. The person who presents this spirit to the women paints his body and mask black and over this irregularly distributes many white dots with his index finger. According to BD:165, *kinaḻus* also means wasp and bee.

In the east the so-called *weŋgā́ra-yā́ka* was performed. Several men step out of the Kina hut as a group without any kind of painting. Each one carries a stick that is pointed at the lower end and a meter long. At some distance from the Great Hut the men move close together, form a circle, and drive the stick into the ground several times. They poke around like this for a few minutes without looking up and without saying a word. Then they silently go back again. No one could tell me the meaning of this performance. BD:625 gives *wōŋgara-gā̃mata*, "to dig, burrow" /cited in English/.

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x 575 535 The Hístuku performance has historical value, so to speak. While the men are preparing for it, the leader gives a signal and there begins an unvarying, constantly repeated hóitu, hóitu... on the same pitch and with sharp emphasis. The force and tempo of this call slowly increases in order to attract the attention of the women in the camp. Meanwhile the participants paint their [302] bodies white. A red arc as wide as a finger is drawn across the forehead, with its ends pointing downward. Then, shouting loudly, the men arrange themselves one behind the other. They squat down so far that they support themselves with both fists and their buttocks almost touch the ground. They can move forward only in short steps. When the first men in this column are just visible, a few older /1374/ women hasten to the field and await the men. The latter keep their squatting position, but form a closed circle. The women approach and walk along the outside of the circle. They gently slap each man with a piece of leather or with the hand, and the man immediately falls over as though he had been killed. The women hastily depart. Not until after about ten minutes, during which no one in the camp stirs, the men cautiously get up and, deeply bent over and one behind the other, go back to the Great Hut without a sound. They quietly wash off their painting and in an undertone converse very gaily, for, after all, they have not been killed and have not been [776 825] murdered by the women. Hístuku is the spirit of the fur seal, tēpéxa (Arctocephalus australis). At the time of the great struggle in Yāiaašága he moved in the same clumsy way he does today, and many women fell upon him in order to kill him. That is exactly what happens now in this performance (311).

[171] 311. This scene is almost exactly like the Hoštan scene in the Kloketen of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 997). BD:262 also speaks of this performance "before the women and children as spectators" /cited in English/.

x 575 776 825 All the plays listed here, which I experienced personally, do not exhaust the long list. BD mentions many additional ones. For example, BD:170, kiiāgwīaka, the performance of the sea

/1374 cont./

X 575 776 825 gull kiwāgu (Larus dominicanus); BD:413, tākašaiaka, the performance of the loud tákaša (Larus belcheri /a gull/); BD:112, ušōulaiaka, the performance of the whale ašōula (Pseudorca crassidens); finally, BD:262, haiyaiga, BD:277, lamūkaiaka, the performance of the whale, BD:276; laiakākīpa, and BD:247, gōtanna, or "tānūwa's son, one of opening scenes and characters in the keena drama" /cited in English/. BD also mentions a few more performances. In any case, see the explanations of kūpi in BD:212.

X 575 765 [302] ... In conclusion the so-called kína-tálauwāia, the death rite, should be specifically mentioned. Now and then it happens that in the course of this men's festival one of the participants or one of their relatives dies. Then one evening the participants assembled in the Great Hut put on an actual tálauwāia for only themselves. The men adorn themselves with the body painting customary for this occasion (p. 1081), depending on the degree of their relationship to the deceased. This is not enough, however. An influential yēkamuš appoints a man, preferably the leader, to paint himself in a special way. In March, 1922, Mašemikens, who was then the leader of the Kina, volunteered to do this himself. The entire body is painted white and over this are painted four black stripes the width of a hand, beginning in the center of each collar bone and in each armpit and extending to the knee. These stripes, but narrower, are continued on the white mask up to its point. The performer dances out of the Great Hut just like any one of the many other "spirits" and moves back and forth several times on the dance course. The people in the camp immediately recognize him /1375/ by his painting. On the evening of a tálauwāia the men remain very quiet and appear to be sad out of sincere sympathy. The Yamana have no proper name for the spirit portrayed in this manner. It would not be correct to call him the kešpix of the deceased person who is being mourned; the whole performance is meant to be reminiscent of his departure and of the sorrowful participation of the survivors.

X 575 776 825 302 The Yamana emphatically assured me that there is no portrayal in the Kina of the spirits of those animals that were already living here as actual animals at the time of the great upheaval.

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X 575 776 825 302 This applies to the raven vulture wēχwiyā́u, the hawk yo'okalī́a, the gerfalcon kētḗla, the common sea gull kiwā́gu (312), and particularly the many small birds. The specific painting with which every spirit appears adds a certain variety to the course of the Kina festival, but after a time the monotonous dance movements become noticeably boring to the women and also somewhat to the men. The arbitrary decision of the leader and the general mood of the participants determine the number of spirits and the sequence of their appearance on each evening. In view of this, one Kina festival is sometimes very different from another, and this provides a change.

d. End of the Festival

X 575 Obviously it is the environment, especially the urgency of matters of subsistence, which forces the participants to terminate a Kina festival. Here, too, the decisive factor is that same play of forces that leads to the termination of a youth initiation (p. 832). The most important of these would be lack of food, flooding of the campsite, insufficient firewood, the illness of a number of persons, or a death.

Even if these unforeseen and yet decisive circumstances were not taken into account, at practically every Kina the attention of the dancers and spectators begins to lag after only a few days. The men must stimulate and renew the interest of all the participants in the affair. If all their efforts fail, boredom is clearly written on the faces of all those present. From the start, the women do not welcome the Kina. For their part they certainly make no effort to prolong it. For a time, however, the men feel quite content in their closed group, especially if there are many of them and the individual members take an active part. Thus they are unaware of the threatening and unavoidable monotony of each passing day. The Yamana are much too restless by nature to /1376/ bear unvarying monotony for very long, and the many spirit appearances certainly do not offer enough

312. BD:170, however, mentioned this spirit.

/1381 cont./

X575 have been brought into the present homeland of the Yamana from the northernmost part of the Selk'nam territory demands some consideration. The prevailing form of household management with its division of labor within the family between husband and wife is so fortunate, sensible, and altogether natural that a reversal would obviously endanger the existence of the whole group. Not a single man seriously feels that there is any danger, for instance, of reversion to the original conditions described in the myth; nor would it enter a woman's head to reverse the state of affairs and shake off her truly not very oppressive subordination to the men, as it is vital to the permanence and well-being of the family. The activity of the men during their secret gathering does not even remotely indicate any urgently necessary resistance /1382/ against any kind of threat to their superior position on the part of the women. The women devote themselves to this performance with less seriousness and enthusiasm than do the men, and the attitude of both sexes cannot be compared to that which they display for the čiéxaus, for example. After all, this secret festival is not, as elsewhere, put on by a permanently active men's society, but every chap who has experienced the strict čiéxaus twice is lawfully admitted to it as often as it is held, first in the role of ulwáala, later as a full-fledged participant. For the men, all the restrictions of personal liberty imposed on the woman during the daily program and spirit appearances mean no more than an amusing farce at the women's expense, which they allow themselves after the long interval between one Kina and the next. Any serious hostility is completely foreign to them.

X575 ●776 Since, as has been said, the yékamuš have a prominent place in the Kina activities, there is no direct reference to the Supreme Being. This omission during such an elaborate affair is all the more striking since there are many even insignificant details in daily life which the Yamana link up with their Watauinéiwa. Not a single one of the many so-called spirits is mentioned in any way outside this men's celebration; even less do they have any influence on the social life or the behavior of the individual, for they are merely those kéšpix which were in part portrayed by the women in former times or which belonged to the women who were at that time transformed into animals.

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> (c):131 gives the following as proof: "His ability to hide objects in his mouth is surprising" /translated from Spanish/. Wieghardt:48 repeats this sentence verbatim, and Spegazzini (a):169 voices the same suspicion.

eal and obvious /1394/ results in which he personally, as well as hose around him, believes. Of course this does not explain how e achieves the desired goal. No one cares about that, but each roup is very proud of the superior achievements of its own ékamuš.

b. The Calling of the Medicine Man

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When a yékamuš acts as such, it is not he personally who orks and operates, but one or more of his guardian spirits acts r him to attain the goal he desires. The individual joins these ardian spirits for the first time when he is actually called to is office. A person who has not been won over and advanced y them in his younger years will never become a capable, full-edged yékamuš. The call is a more or less definite summons r the chosen one by a spirit to devote himself to the work of a kamuš. The individual and those close to him or a few medi-ne men decide whether there has been a real call and whether e individual thus chosen must immediately respond to it.

1. Personal Calling

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Our Yamana are very susceptible to stirrings and movements their psychic life. Everything unusual agitates them very ch, and they are extraordinarily easily captured by the many -called spirits in which they believe. From the time they are ildren they learn about the method of operation of their yékamuš: y can observe it with their own eyes; they hear it talked about adults; and they receive many explanations about it from the

/1397 cont./

X756 781 neighbors can see that he is feeling well; the memory of that company of spirits is still alive in him. Without talking about it he gathers up his things, leaves his family, and sets out to go to that experienced yĕ́kamuš whose spirit he saw the night before. He stays with him for some time and is taught by him.

X756 ● 776 781 There is another call that comes in a similar manner. If someone is walking dreamily through the forest, lost in thought and unconscious of himself, so to speak, he may suddenly see a large number of spirits in front of him. These are people of small stature but like human beings with respect to the shape of their bodies. Soon the man collapses and is overcome by a deep sleep. In his dream he now sees those little people much more distictly. He realizes that many spirits are sitting there around a fire, warming themselves and softly talking among themselves. They wave to the kĕ́špiš of the dreamer in friendly fashion, and one of them seems particularly favorably disposed. They all invite him to sit down with them beside the fire; he does so and feels content among them. After some time the man wakes up, and it is only with some effort that he rubs the sleep out of his eyes. The dream is very vivid to him and that kĕ́špiš who was particularly favorably disposed toward him becomes his guardian spirit. The latter will give him his song and that makes him a yĕ́kamuš. The type of spirit referred to is called hĕ́štẹka-yĕkamuš. They like to stay in old tree trunks. They sometimes move the trunks in such a way that they bend extremely low, turn around, and shake and tremble violently. These hĕ́štẹka-yĕkamuš live in old decayed tree trunks.

The direct call can also come from actual čōwánni spirits. A man will be roaming along the shore alone, as though sunk in a world of dreams, without definite thoughts. Suddenly he finds himself in a visionary state, known as asikā́ku; before him swarms a vast number of herring, whales, swordfish, vultures, cormorants, petrels, and other animals. They all speak flatteringly to him, are very gracious, and show great devotion to him; they act like the most friendly human beings. The man is completely out of his mind and does not know what is happening to him. His whole body is numb, and he sinks down and lies there motionless. His kĕ́špiš is communing with those čōwánni spirits and feels an

/1397 cont./

756 extraordinary happiness. Suddenly the spirits take their leave
787 and disappear. Awakening from his deep dreams, the man
staggers home. He hardly knows what is going on around him. He
776 lies down on his bed /1398/ and sinks back into his dream. Again the swarm of animals appears to him; they are all friendly to him and entice his késpiš. Soon the latter follows them far out to the high seas. One of the spirits is concerned about this késpiš and treats it with extravagant kindness; he will become the special guardian spirit of this man. All the other spirits are also at the man's disposal as friends and helpers. The immediate neighbors of this man, particularly the yékamuš, realize from his behavior what is going on. He is left alone and everybody waits patiently until he has shaken off his deep dream.

Sometimes a person is also called by Hayčéllakipa, the most powerful spirit in the lóima-yékamuš. The man chosen sinks into a deep dream quite suddenly. Hayčéllakipa appears to his késpiš in the form of a huge whale which is considerably larger than any representative of this species. The késpiš understands what this vision means; he can no longer escape and must become a yékamuš. The old masters are told by their own guardian spirits about every asikáku call. A person on whom such a vision is conferred loses complete control over himself for a few days; he does not eat or drink and stays away from everyone. He spends the time dreaming and his késpiš often returns to the group of spirits where he feels more and more at home. Soon one of those spirits puts himself at the disposal of this késpiš as his yefáčel *and personal guardian spirit with overwhelming friendliness.* The yefáčel finally gives this késpiš his song, and then the owner of the késpiš is a yékamuš. When, lost in the dream, he himself begins singing this song aloud, everyone around him knows what has happened to him. Every man who has received such a direct call goes to an experienced medicine man for a few months to be taught by him. When he returns to his family group, he puts himself at their disposal.

One can become a full-fledged yékamuš only by way of an asikáku. In one of the subsequent "visions" a special guardian spirit introduces himself to the dreaming person and remains attached to him from then on as his personal helper. He will not

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Y756 787 776 release him; hence the person must operate as a yĕkamuš. If he refuses, the yefáčel, more accurately known as yefáčel-xéo̧la or ạóna-xéo̧la, soon takes severe revenge by letting the person die. Sometimes an alert yĕkamuš can prevent this grave outcome. Nelly Lawrence told me about her call; she did not obey it and on that account ran the risk of extreme mortal danger: "Once I was walking through the forest with my little daughter. Suddenly a strange, loud pắx sound came from a tree trunk. I looked back and saw in that decayed trunk a cunning ạóna-xéo̧la waving to me in a very friendly way. I did not take it for an asikắku, but for an ordinary kắpiš. I dragged myself along as though I were in a coma; I was seized by an uncanny fear, /1399/ and irresistible exhaustion made me drop on my bed. I dreamed, and once again that ạóna-xéo̧la was standing before me. It smiled at me in a very friendly way and showered me with all kinds of gifts, with skins and little baskets, ornamental chains and yĕkuš; it even gave me a special song. After I awoke sluggishly that song kept running through my head for a long time. I was weak and sick for several days; I felt lifeless and deprived of energy. A yĕkamuš kīpa addressed me: 'How weak you are now! Just a short time ago I saw you vigorous and healthy!' I did not tell her anything definite, but offered her a cup of tea. She took the cup and recoiled: 'Why do you offer me this disgusting animal?' I was taken aback and said: 'But I offered you a cup of tea!' The woman answered excitedly: 'No, that is a disgusting animal!' That ạóna-xéo̧la had not released me since my dream; *it followed my every step. Gradually I became convinced that* I must practice as a yĕkamuš, for that is what this spirit was trying to make me do. But I could not decide to do it. That yĕkamuškīpa was enlightened by her spirit as she held the cup of tea in her hands, and immediately she realised what had happened to me. 'You must become a yĕkamuš!' she said to me. This is what she saw: that ạóna-xéo̧la had put a fur cloak around me and it was fastened around my neck with a leather thong. It was this cloak that was weighing me down so that I often fell to the ground! Full of anxiety for me, that woman hastened back to her hut. She soon went to sleep. In her dream she saw how that fur cloak was constricting my throat more and more so that in a few days I would have choked. Early in the morning she began

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her song, full of anxiety. She called me to come there and asked: 'Did you have an asikáku there in the woods and since then do you have the feeling that someone is choking you so that you sometimes fall down because you can't breathe?' I said: 'Yes, that's the way it is!' Then I had to get down on the ground in front of her. With both hands she grasped the fur cloak and the many gifts that had been showered on me by the aóna-xóola. She energetically threw all of them aside until I was finally rid of them. She also took the song and the asikáku away from me. Not until then did I feel relieved, and since then I have had no further difficulty. To this day I am grateful for the help of that yékamuškipa; she saved me from imminent death." The complete designation for a person who, through a vision, has received his calling to practice as a yékamuš is, accordingly asikáku-yékamuš.

2. The Medicine-Man School

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Although it is true that the yékamuš of the Yamana are not joined together in a society, nevertheless everyone who is active in this domain is quite generally known. Occasionally yékamuš who are on friendly terms with each other even join forces to effect a cure in common. An aged master, /1400/ of course, sees to it that a young man of his family is trained for this service, for a large family group is, after all, dependent on the activity of a yékamuš and could not forgo it completely without harming itself. If, at a certain time, several yékamuš feel the necessity of preparing this or that young candidate for their calling, they instigate a lóima-yékamuš. The goal of a meeting thus designated is clearly implied in the term. It is, in other words, an actual school for prospective medicine men.

As though by chance I learned that the yékamuš now and then meet in a special hut for the purpose of winning over younger successors to their calling (327). On my fourth journey I directed

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327. At that time I knew nothing about the Pešere of the Selk'nam (Vol. 1, 786), which, in part, serves the same ends as the medicine-man school of the Yamana.

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X 756 787 what they observe. The results of such tests of strength are, of course, disappointment and displeasure among those whose yékamuš has been defeated, joy and satisfaction among those whose yékamuš has won. The old masters enjoy this very much, for the lṓima-yékamuš gives them their best opportunity to prove their ability in front of others. Such feats of strength are relieved by loud singing and the interspersed cries of those present. At a sign from the leader, song and cries suddenly break off. Immediately everyone bends far forward and presses his hands flat against the ground, as though pressing it down. This is meant to hold back the many spirits here in the hut or in the immediate vicinity. Afterwards everyone again assumes the rigid posture and remains silently in his place. If someone leaves the lṓima hut, the others seize his léspix́ to hold it back so that it will continue to accompany all of them in their singing.

The Haučéllakīpa have been mentioned several times. X 756 These spirits are regarded as the rulers of the lṓima-yékamuš. 787 There are many Haučélla both male /1411/ and female, and ● 776 they constitute an evil band. Each yékamuš has his Haučéllakīpa, just as he has his own yefáčel. When they say that Haučéllakīpa is the mistress and female ruler of the lṓima-yékamuš, they mean that spirits of this type often make themselves felt inside the hut, carry on disputes among themselves with great fury, and let all the men feel their deep resentment. They arrive in the Great Hut every day; several Haučélla will even join together and threaten the circle of men with death. In their visions the yékamuš observe all those details, hence the constant fear and alertness of the yékamuš with respect to the Haučélla. Although each of them is at the service of her own yékamuš in everyday life, nevertheless here in the Great Hut she sometimes behaves like a violent foe. No one here is safe from her; she gives vent to her fury and keeps all the men in a state of panic. This is what the people mean when they refer to Haučéllakīpa as the ruler of the lṓima-yékamuš. The greatest agitation and most threatening attitude of these spirits are shown when they force everyone present to repeat rapidly hẹ́te, hẹ́te, hẹ́tetetetẹ́te in marked rhythm and on the same pitch. It is called the song of Haučéllakīpa. While it is going on, the men get up to offer

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787 resistance; they struggle with these spirits and either subdue [776] them or are overcome by their superior power.

One evening, during the customary singing, Emilia was excited beyond all bounds. She cries: "A *Hau̯čéllakīpa* has overcome Mašemikens! I shall kill her without delay!" Mašemikens has to squat in front of her on the ground. She sings and with her index finger scratches a line on the ground all around him. Then she yells loudly, clenches her fists, beats them against the ground, wails dreadfully, gnashes her teeth, places her mouth against the ground, and bites it furiously. While the other people apprehensively continue singing, Emilia sits up and makes a few quick motions with her outstretched hand as though she were cutting up some large object on the ground and were distributing the pieces in every direction. She heaps sand over that spot on the ground. Then she repeatedly throws her arms around Mašemikens and holds him tight, embracing him from the shoulders to his knees as though she were obliged to hold him together. Meanwhile she wails loudly. The whole performance means that Emilia has killed the *Hau̯čéllakīpa* and thus freed Mašemikens. Now the jealousy of Mašemikens' wife comes out, for she cries: "For some time I have noticed that my husband was under the spell of that woman!" Emilia interrupts her: "One can show no mercy toward a *Hau̯čéllakīpa*! One must quickly murder her, she is always most dangerous! A man to whom *Hau̯čéllakīpa* attaches herself will not live long; he would soon be destroyed by her!" Angrily she beats her fists in the air and cries: "Now I see that my *yefăčel* is perturbed because I murdered that *Hau̯čéllakīpa*; /*1412*/ it is returning in order to release its blazing anger on us all. I shall tell it frankly that I, alone, was the murderess; then it will leave you unharmed!" As she continues singing, she makes motions as though she were hurling stones with a sling against that spirit. Finally she cries, happily excited: "I see that my *yefăčel* is retreating once more!" At these words Mašemikens breathes a sigh of relief and confesses: "For a long time I have been completely discouraged, I was quite weak, I felt very oppressed. Now I am free again!" Thereupon the entire circle of participants calms down. Scenes such as these are repeated almost daily. Sometimes the men join forces and

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and, without replying, he lay down. Although he kept his eyes closed, his wife continued to taunt him. She did not stop until the medicine man was snoring loudly. She steered her canoe toward Káawaja. Meanwhile the yékamuš slept and called to two Lakúma from Káluwa [in the west], which was far away. They finally arrived in Káawaja, immediately seized the canoe, and lifted up the bow. Full of fear, the woman called to her husband, who was still sleeping: "Get up and help me in this danger; after all, you are a yékamuš!" Very calmly he replied: "Try to get along by yourself. You have often told me that I cannot do anything!" She begged: "I entreat you to help me, otherwise the Lakúma will kill me!" After his wife had trembled for a long time, he sat up, but he still did not lift a hand. The woman was in an agony of fear. Finally he told her: "Paint both Lakúma with white pigment!" She replied: "Impossible, /1429/ I am unable to do that!" So he said: "Then give me the pigment!" With it he approached the bow, leaned over, and painted both Lakúma; one was on the right, the other on the left side. The Lakúma did not offer any resistance. Then the yékamuš got up, stretched out both arms, and laughed hī hī... The two Lakúma slowly let the boat down and dived. Instantly they sent the canoe favorable weather and it soon reached its destination. The woman was completely convinced and ruefully confessed to her husband: "Hitherto I have made fun of you and regarded you very contemptuously; now I know that you are truly a competent yékamuš!"

a. The Yefacel

X 756 •776 787 It is well known that every Yamana has a guardian spirit known as yefáčel. Whereas ordinary people act little or not at all on this belief, every yékamuš maintains the most intimate connections with his yefáčel. Even in BD:661 this fact is confirmed: "yăpăčăn, a being of more than human power and sagacity whom the yékamuš claimed as their inspiring power and instructor" /cited in English/.

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The medicine man treats the yefáčel somewhat like his child. He calls it to him with tender singing and discusses things with it quite intimately. He gives it all kinds of duties which it fulfills without opposition. The kéšpix of the yékamuš associates with the yefáčel in all kinds of things, just like human beings. They see each other in visions and consult with one another. As a matter of fact, it is the yefáčel that carries out the work of the medicine man. While it acts by itself far away, he remains completely motionless, stretched out on his pallet, waiting until it has fulfilled the duty given it (338). If it stays

> 338. Bridges (I):18 also mentioned this state of affairs: "When under the influence of the yapachel they pretended to be insensible to outward things, the burning of the fire and the presence of their friends. They at such times acted as though really possessed" /cited in English/.

near by, it continues the song begun by the yékamuš, that is, it sings through him. The yékamuš calls his guardian spirit by means of the song that the yefáčel gave him long ago when he received the call to this office (pp. 1318, 1330). This singing is called ušína yefáčel and ašína lóima. If in an exceptional case the yefáčel does not appear, the yékamuš feels abandoned and disappointed. Loudly enough so that those around him can hear, he complains: "Where is my yefáčel today? It probably stayed behind in the woods and is keeping me waiting here. My song is not successful now. I shall have to repeat it later!" The yefáčel converse among themselves and with the yékamuš in a special language. To ordinary people this sounds like a low, resonant tē, tē, but in it are hidden words that are intelligible to all yékamuš and yefáčel. /1430/ The yékamuš is content in the company of his yefáčel. In order to keep it with him now and then, he presses both hands hard against his chest or puts them against his throat. On his own initiative the yefáčel will report to his yékamuš various things which he ought to know. This guardian spirit is the active force in the practice of the yékamuš and, always at his disposal, is his most intimate companion throughout his life.

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β. The Haucella

Y756 •776 787 Besides a yefáčel, the medicine man is supported by a Haučéllakipa. Although the two do not often meet, the Haučélla is incomparably mightier than the yefáčel. The origin of these spirits, which are both male and female, has already been described (p. 1119). To supplement it, here is what Maĺemikens told me in August, 1923. Back in the time when the general upheaval took place, a few women hastened out of the Kina hut and hid on the Wollaston Islands. There they became Haučéllakipa and entered the earth. They are hostile to human beings. Each of them succeeded in pulling a man down into the interior of the earth where he became a Haučélla. All of them are bent upon ensnaring our men and women with their flirtations. It is very bad that sometimes [male] Haučélla even assault our men and Haučéllakipa do the same to our women (339).

[838] 339. With these words homosexual intercourse is clearly admitted, but only as a rare transgression by the bad spirits mentioned.

Anyone who is ensnared by these spirits is lost, unless he is saved in time by a yékamuš, but this is not genuine love. For example, if I should be going to a brook, lost in thought, an enchantingly beautiful woman may suddenly appear before me, enticing *me with flattery and breaking down my reticence. This is a* Haučéllakipa. Thereafter I cannot get rid of this image; it is constantly before my [mind's] eye, and I am caught by the spell of love. Wherever I go, wherever I sit and work, this image hovers before me and follows me everywhere. Months go by and still the image of that woman overpowers me. While all this is going on within the man, he finally comes to his senses and says: "Every move I make is difficult for me, I feel unwell, my strength has long since failed me. But I cannot part from that woman. I am as close to her as though we were married. I am so filled with this woman and so dominated by her, it is as though an illness had penetrated my body. She has

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X 756 776 787 long since subdued me, I must die!" That is the way such a man will talk. Sure enough, Haučéllakipa draws him down to her under the earth; his késpix remains married to her forever and his earthly body dies. In the same way a [male] Haučélla bewitches a Yamana woman, until she, too, falls completely into his power. A yékamuš realizes perfectly what is happening between one of our people and /1431/ the Haučélla. He must free a person in time from the power of these evil earth spirits or the person will surely die.

Y 756 828 776 787 Mažemikens added the following to the above description: As a young man I traveled with my cousin south through the Molinare Channel. He was involved with a Haučélla without admitting it to himself. He had not eaten anything for several days. Although I offered him something to eat several times, he did not take anything. He always replied: "I have no desire to eat! I don't know what is happening to me!" We passed a place where we found many birds' eggs. My cousin did not eat anything. As we traveled on I suddenly realized: my cousin is under the spell of a Haučélla! After we had traveled on for some time, he leaped up in the forward part of the canoe and cried apprehensively: "A threatening storm is coming up!" I replied: "Not at all! We are having wonderful, calm weather!" He was completely out of his mind. When we reached Arákuwēlla, my cousin ordered: "Light a big fire! She is approaching and bringing many ašiya [round crabs] with her." I did as he asked, and soon he again ordered: "Make the fire bigger. She is considerably vexed by the cold!" I was speechless. Then my cousin cried: "Now she is here and is seizing me!" Instantly I picked up a stick and beat the air all around my cousin. Gradually he calmed down; we lay down and went to sleep. Since my cousin was feeling better the next morning, we rowed to Ilakǎteyiška. Having arrived there, we landed. Full of despair he said to me: "Let me warn you! -- I must soon die." In my anxiety I again seized a stick and beat the Haučéllakipa close beside my cousin. She, however, escaped under the hut wall and out into the open. My cousin immediately hurried after her and cried longingly: "My wife is running away!" After he had gone a few steps he collapsed and was dead.

/1431 cont./

x756 •776 787 In general the interior of the earth is designated as the regular abode of the Hayčélla. These spirits live together there in an extremely spacious hut. In his visions a yékamuš can more or less clearly observe what everyone is doing there. Mašemikens assured me: "If a yékamuš suddenly falls down, collapses as though drunk, and lies there motionless, that is when he sees quite clearly what is going on in the spacious hut of the Hayčélla." The lóima hut is called "house of Hayčélla," because these spirits give the men more trouble there than elsewhere. Individual Hayčélla like to inhabit the so-called "dangerous places" which every Yamana anxiously avoids (p. 1200). Calderon said: "If a man alone inadvertently enters such an area, he suddenly becomes weak, sits down exhausted, and falls asleep. In his dream he sees himself lying beside a Hayčéllakipa who fondles him and has illicit intercourse with him. Since he feels utterly weak, he cannot defend himself and must let her have her way. After he /1432/ wakes up, he recalls but faintly what he experienced in his dream, and it frightens him to think that ? he has lain in the embrace of the Hayčélla. His own weakness forces him to lie down again, and he is filled with dreamy bliss. Hayčéllakipa brings all this about because she wants to have sexual intercourse with him. Such a state lasts for many weeks, until a competent yékamuš frees the helpless man. The yékamuš sees what a Hayčélla does to every man whom she has charmed into her embrace. With his singing the yékamuš calls together the čowánni spirits, who must release such a man from the spell of that woman. A bitter struggle commences, which the yékamuš watches in his dream. The spirits seize the man [his kéšpix] and pull him away; he is bleeding and his entrails hang out. Hayčélla fights for him against the spirits and wards them off. But finally the many čowánni spirits triumph, free the man from the spell of the Hayčélla, and bring him back on earth. He is now forever free of that evil woman and slowly recovers from his weakness. The čowánni spirits are the helpers of the yékamuš. They behave like human beings; they see and know everything. He associates with them as with his own kind and gives them instructions which they carry out according to his wishes. The yékamuš is completely free to use these spirits, but he helps only persons

/*1432 cont.*/

756 he wants to help. He realizes that many other Yamana are under
776 the spell of the *Hayčélla*, but he does not bother about them."
787 As an exception, a *yékamuš* will have a female *yefáčel* as his guardian spirit. It is like his daughter, and he may not be guilty of improper behavior toward her. If a *yékamuš* should force his [female] *yefáčel* to make love, his *Hayčéllakipa* will grow jealous, come to him in a dream, give herself to him, and make him believe he is embracing the *yefáčel*. The *yékamuš* will be overjoyed, for he does not know that he is being deceived by his *Hayčéllakipa*. Slowly he grows weaker, his condition grows constantly worse, and finally, when he is dying, he comes altogether under the power of *Hayčéllakipa*. Such a *yékamuš* must, from the start, be on his guard toward his female *yefáčel*. Again it becomes evident that all the *Hayčélla* spirits are unfriendly and spiteful, indeed, hostile toward ordinary people as well as toward the *yékamuš*.

Children may result from the union of a Yamana with a *Hayčélla* spirit. "They are always full-fledged *Hayčélla*; they remain with the *Hayčélla* in the earth, and now and then let a person feel their dislike for him. The *Hayčélla* spirits are very numerous. A *yékamuš* is well acquainted with each of them."

756 Although even the *yékamuš* must be on his guard against a
776 *Hayčéllakipa*, she is a reliable helper for a particularly difficult act. If he wants to do away with an enemy quickly, he sends his
787 *Hayčéllakipa* against him. She enters his body, which swells up
755 enormously, and the end soon comes. For some people it is a pleasure to follow the enticements /*1433*/ of *Hayčéllakipa* into the earth and to remain with her (p. 1041). I was given the following explanation of this. "If someone dies at the instigation of a *Hayčélla* spirit, his *kešpiš* goes on living among the *Hayčélla*, but he himself does not turn into a *Hayčélla* and does not harm anyone. The *yékamuš* must see to it that no Yamana lets himself be ensnared by the *Hayčélla* or destroyed by them." If a person is under the spell of a *Hayčélla* spirit, the *yékamuš* will invite several men and have them form a closed circle around the sick person. He himself holds the evil spirit back for a time within this circle, so that the spirit grows weak. After that the *yékamuš* angrily bites the ground and wounds the *Hayčélla* spirit fatally;

/1433 cont./

X 756 the sick person is then relieved. It may happen that a malevo-
•776 lent medicine man is accompanied by his Hanušilakipa as he
787 walks through the camp. If the two pass an unsuspecting child,
755 she will take its kéšpix away. Quickly an alert yékamuš must snatch the kidnapped kéšpix from the Hanušilakipa and give it back to the child. He calls the child to him, rubs his open hands in a gently stroking motion up and down along the child's body several times, makes retching motions and coughs violently. Finally he kneads the child's body and announces: "Now you have your kéšpix back!"

X 756 I see a certain consistency in the fact that the Yamana as-
756 sociate the first illness with these spirits. They say: "Before
776 the general upheaval in Yīšaaliga, there was not a single sick
753 person, but afterward one man suddenly felt persistent violent pains. He was ill and could not get up. Excitedly many men assembled and considered how this illness could have come about. After searching for a long time they discovered that the disease came from that malevolent woman who at that time escaped and fled to the south where she entered the earth (340). The men called this dangerous woman Hanušilakipa. Then they considered how they could protect themselves against being ill, and they requested the yékamuš to offer their help to all Yamana." This account is a good explanation of the first activity of the medicine men.

340. In one instance it was said that "a woman tried to see whether she could transform herself and become a Hanucelis" (p. 1120); another time it was said that "a few women on the Wollaston Islands turned into Hanucelis and entered the earth" (p. 1360). The difference in the number of persons is unimportant; the significant thing is the agreement concerning the act described.

629 clubs, fists, and so forth were used freely, with no holds barred, but
[illegible] grave wounds or deaths were uncommon. Organized warfare did
not exist, and the *Yahgan* had no defensive weapons. The weapons
used in their feuds were primarily made for, and adapted to, hunting.

Social relations within and between the dialectic and local groups
appear to have been normally irenic, but violence and bloodshed
were not infrequent. The friends of fighting parties usually inter-
vened, both by persuasion and by force, to restore peace. A murder
[illegible] was strongly condemned, and the murderer often became an outcast.
Bridges found 29 cases of homicide between 1871 and 1884—an
annual rate per population something like 10 times as high as that
[illegible] of the United States. Many killings occurred for the purpose of
putting an end to the sufferings of the hopelessly ill. Human
[illegible] sacrifice was unknown; so too was premeditated suicide.

[illegible] The evidence that the *Yahgan* practiced no form of cannibalism—
gastronomic, famine, ritual, or other—is convincing beyond all
reasonable doubt. They would not even eat animals suspected of
devouring human flesh.

ECONOMIC LIFE

423 **Ownership.**—The *Yahgan* resented and avenged exploitative tres-
619 pass upon their tribal territory or attempted occupation of any part
thereof by non-*Yahgan*, Indian or White. So, too, did members
of any one of the five dialectic groups (Gusinde, 1937, pp. 964-965)
or, according to Koppers (1928 b, p. 178), of any one of the numerous
local groups, by nonmembers. Since these local groups seemingly
were chiefly kinship groups (cf. supra, Political Life), the *Yahgan*
land-tenure system resembled the family-hunting-ground system.
There was no exclusive tenure by kinship circles as such, by biological
families, or by individuals.

Members of one dialectic or local group could, however, exploit the
territory of other groups to secure food in grave shortage, to feast
on a stranded whale, and to gather firestones and suitable canoe bark,
which were found only in certain parts of the *Yahgan* territory.
422 Ownership of personal property, such as weapons, clothing, adorn-
ments, and baskets, was vested in the individual. Women and
children, as well as men, had well-recognized rights to such things.
The ownership of certain other things—food, hut, canoe—appears to
have been vested in the biological family.

[illegible] Food was looked upon as the property and gift of the Supreme
Being; wasting it was disrespectful to Him.

437 Title to personal property was acquired through occupation, labor,
donation, and barter. Barter took two forms: plain, or exchange of
goods for goods; and by exchange of presents. There was no cur-

881 head band and had a special painted staff. To each candidate were assigned sponsors, one or two men and a woman to the boy, one or two women and a man to the girl.

The candidates were subjected to certain endurance restrictions: little sleep, food, and drink, hard work, a daily bath in cold sea water, cross-legged posture during much of the time. They had to drink through a hollow bird bone. The boys were given a sort of temporary tattoo. Much vocational instruction was given, and particularly an elaborate moral instruction in the native code, with very concrete counsels on the obligations of altruistic behavior, respect for the aged, peacefulness, industry, not spreading scandals or carrying tales, and so forth. This moral instruction was given by the mentor, sponsors, 776 and other elders, as the will of Watauinéwa, the Supreme Being, who saw everything and who would punish delinquents with shortened life and with the death of their children. Yetáita also, the chief evil spirit, would harm them if they did wrong.

The ritual consisted otherwise mostly of dances and of songs peculiar to it. Toward the end, the sponsors gave each candidate a basket, a bird-bone drinking tube, and a scratching-stick. The rite ended with a mock battle between the men and women, and with a feast.

882 Only those who had gone through the *čiéxaus* rite were considered full-fledged members of the tribe, and were told the whole mythological complex of the Yoálox brothers and their sister. And only twice-initiated boys could take part in the kina rite (cf. infra under Religion), which was often held just after the *čiéxaus*.

76 **Death and burial.**—Mourning was expressed by fasting, body painting, gashing of the breast with sharp stones, and a special mourning dirge accompanied by a mourning speech. Angry complaints were directed to Watauinéwa for letting the person die. A general mourning rite in which the men and women painted themselves, wept, hurled complaints at Watauinéwa, and engaged in a mock battle, the men with clubs and the women with paddles, was also held.

The more common form of disposal of the body, up until recent times, was cremation—lest foxes, rats, or dogs should eat the body, so the natives said. The dead person's personal property, or some of it, was burned with the body. In some cases, especially of children, the body was buried in a kitchen-midden. The burial spot was avoided as a camping place, for several years where the deceased was an adult. The name of the dead was never spoken.

775 **Future life.**—The keshpik (késpix), or soul, flew east, but exactly whither was not known. Nor was it known what its fate was, happy or unhappy, nor whether such fate was at all dependent on moral behavior on earth.

526 The loser would call upon a friend who would in turn challenge the victor who had no choice but to accept. Before the wrestling match began the wrestlers were magically massaged by the medicine man. Sometimes these single matches developed into a free-for-all wrestling match in which several or all of the men would join. Sometimes, too, these general wrestling bouts ended in a serious scuffle.

538 **Music.**—Proverbs were absent. So, too, was poetry; the nearest
approach to it was the meaningless words or syllables having a certain
rhythm which occur in songs. The songs themselves were extremely
533 simple and monotonous with or without meaningless words. The
Yahgan had many songs, sung for special occasions such as the čiéxaus
and mourning rites; others intoned ad libitum. There were no lulla-
bies. *Yahgan* songs show sundry very primitive features, according to
[534] von Hornbostel (1936). There were no musical instruments at all.
Even the rattle, drum, and flute were absent. Staves with which to
beat time were used in certain rites.

535 **Dances.**—Apart from the dances carried out during the chiéxaus and kina rites, there were none of a symbolic, imitative, or dramatic type, and no war or hunting dances. The *Yahgan* danced alone, in circles or in Indian file. The women rarely danced, and the men and women never together.

RELIGION

771 Most of the religious life of the *Yahgan* centered around theism
and shamanism. There was a distinct fear of the dead; there were
also the mourning observances previously noted; the souls of dead
shamans entered into the beliefs and practices of the medicine men.
[969] But no organized ancestral cult existed, and the dead were not prayed
to. Animistic beings and observances appeared marginal to the
theistic cult and focal in shamanism. There were a number of mis-
cellaneous magico-religious conceptions and observations. Each
[789] *Yahgan* had a yefáčel, as a sort of guardian spirit. Various omens
were believed in: for instance, the call of the owl was supposed to
portend a murder or at least a death. A number, too, of taboos were
observed: for instance, when traveling by canoe people had to throw
waste into the fire kept burning in the canoe, and not into the water,
lest the children should cry. There does not appear to have been any
form of divination. The kina rite, to be described, had religious
features to it, but its purpose and function were primarily social. The
great bulk, therefore, of *Yahgan* religion having been taken up with
theism and shamanism, in summarizing *Yahgan* theistic and shaman-
istic phenomena, we shall be summarizing *Yahgan* religion as such.

776 **Theism.**—There was a very definite belief in a Supreme Being called Watauinéwa or Watauinéiwa, who was also called by other

776 names meaning "The Powerful One," "The Highest One," and especially by the name of "My Father." He was not the maker or creator, but rather the master and ruler. He was the owner and giver of animals and plant food. It was he who gave life to human beings, and who took it away. He was fundamentally good and benevolent. He lived above in the heavens. He had no body nor had he wife or children. He was distinctly and eminently set off against and above all other spirits, good and bad, and in this sense stood as it were alone. He did not enter into the tribal folklore and mythology. He saw what human beings did, and upon those who broke the precepts of the *Yahgan* socio-moral code, which represented his will, he inflicted punishment in the way of early death, and often the death of their children.

788 The central role of Watauinéwa in the initiation rites has previously been mentioned. Apart, however, from these rites, Watauinéwa was prayed to a great deal by the individual *Yahgan*. These prayers were mostly petitions to him for food (as the owner of the food animals and plants), for cure and health, and for protection from the elements, as well as expressions of thankfulness. A good many of them were more or less traditionally crystallized formulae, of a few words each, but prayer was likewise expressed in free wording. A quite distinctive feature of *Yahgan* communication with the Supreme Being was the frequency of complaint expressions and charges directed toward him on the occasion of sickness, bad weather, or other evil fortune, and particularly on the occasion of deaths. Gusinde and Koppers collected over 60 of these various kinds of prayer formulas. Some of them are in somewhat archaic language.

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177 In view of these archaisms in the complex, of the many distinctly native features (e. g., master, owner, not creator or maker), of the absence of all characteristically European or Christian conceptions, and of the express and emphatic statements by the natives whose memories or whose knowledge from their elders reached back to premissionary days, there can be no reasonable question but that *Yahgan* theism is aboriginal, and not the result of missionary influence. It seems equally clear that it was central in the religious outlook of the *Yahgan* and that it entered deeply and dynamically in their thoughts, emotional life, and personal behavior.

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787 *Shamanism.*—A person became a medicine man (*yékamush*) through an inner call manifested to him in dreams and visions. The *hóshteka-yékamush*, dwarfish spirits, appeared to him; a female spirit, a Hauóllakipa, also played an important part in shamanism, as the shaman's helper. Through the dreams and visions the future medicine man learned which of the small spirits was to be his *yefácel*, or particular guardian spirit. From this spirit he also received a song.

756 He was trained in his professional duties by an older shaman. There was also held a shamans' institute and feast, which could last several months, to condition and school young candidates. During it, the candidates were secluded, and were required to fast, to sing much, to maintain a certain posture, to go with little sleep, and to drink water only through a hollow bird bone; and were taught healing techniques, tricks of the trade, and so forth. Women were barred from this shamans' school. Shamans were not banded into an organized society.

A full-fledged shaman, besides getting help from his special guard- [769] ian spirit, was also in close touch with the spirit of a deceased shaman. The shaman's relations were with the world of lesser spirits, not with the Supreme Being, Watauinéwa; and the latter did not figure in the shamans' school.

The shaman's chief function was that of curing the sick, but he also influenced weather, helped in hunting, prognosticated, and so forth. 755 The familiar procedures of massage, friction, and anointing, with the extraction of some object supposed to be the immediate cause of the disease, were used in curing. Such objects were often believed to have been sent by malevolent shamans from whose power the good shaman endeavored to deliver the victim. An evil shaman could steal and keep in his possession the soul of a victim, and the victim would die unless his soul were freed by another shaman. It was also the function of [779] the shaman to assign to each infant as soon after birth as possible its own yefáčel, a male one to the male infant and a female one to the female. It was the primary and most important duty of the yefáčel to protect its charge against sickness and bodily harm and against dangers of all kind.

595 **Kina rite.**—This *Yahgan* institution, with its numerous analogies to the yinchihaua of the *Alacaluf* (p. 76) and with the klóketen of the *Ona* (p. 120), could have been properly discussed under Social Culture because it had primarily a social function. But it is treated here because it also had important religious or pseudo-religious features and was largely under the direction of the shamans. In fact only a shaman could be the leader of the kina rite. Back of the kina rite was a long myth of an earlier time when the women held mastery of the tribe and lorded it over the men. To maintain their supremacy the women used masks to impersonate spirits and to hoodwink the men. Finally, one man discovered the deception, told the other men, and overthrew the women, killing all females except one very young child. In the kina rite only men who had passed twice through the čiēxaus rite could take part. Women were kept away from the large conical tent. The men secretly painted themselves and wore conical or conoidal masks (pl. 23, *d*) of bark or sealskin to impersonate a very great number

575 of spirits (pl. 22, e). So decked out, they sang and danced in the sight of the women and children and threatened the women with dire penalties if they did not remain submissive to the will of the men.

MYTHOLOGY

773 Full details on the cosmogony and mythology of the *Yahgan* have been presented by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1139-1277), with further information on certain of the more important folklore beings (1937, pp. 1278-1294). Perhaps the most important single phase of the mythology is the Yoálox cycle. The elder of the two Yoálox brothers was stupid, the younger, clever. The younger is in a general sense the culture hero. He is not a trickster. The cosmogonic myths include a flood story. There are a great many explanatory tales of the cormorant, the otter, the fox, and so forth. A number of other stories were told with the moral purpose of instructing and warning the young. Certain others concern the medicine man. The long story of the earlier matriarchate was briefly summarized supra under Kina rite with which it was associated, just as the Yoálox cycle was more or less associated with the čiéxaus. The chief folklore beings believed

776 in, but to whom no cult was given, were the dreaded cannibal beings, the Lakúma water spirits, and the Hánnush giants.

LORE AND LEARNING

171 In general, *Yahgan* technology, with the exception of the bark canoe and coiled basketry, gives little indication of inventive strivings. Thus they stand in sharp contrast with their Arctic counterparts, the Eskimo. A comparison for instance between the very simple *Yahgan* harpoons and the very elaborate Eskimo ones shows the sharpest contrast. In this respect *Yahgan* culture resembles more closely the culture of the northern *Athabaskan* and northern *Algonquians* of sub-Arctic America.

202 804 211 There were no weights and measures of any kind. There were no means of communication such as knotted cords, notched sticks, or, so far as our records go, of travelers' signs, such as the inclined stick to show direction of journey. Smoke signals were made by putting branches of *Nothofagus betuloides* on the fire and, when the dense smoke had risen about 16 feet (5 m.) high, quickly extinguishing the fire, allowing a balloonlike cloud of smoke to ascend. One such smoke signal signified sickness or an accident; two, a grave emergency; three, a death; four, the discovery of a stranded whale.

805 The day was divided into periods of about 4 hours each. The year was divided into four seasons corresponding roughly to our own, and also into eight divisions: "the time when the bark is loose," "when the first bird eggs were found," and so forth.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928

SH6 Yahgan SH6

In figs. 92 and 93 are illustrated some of the masks used by the Yahgan. The material is either bark (fig. 92) or seal-hide (fig. 93), cut to pattern and sewed together with whalebone and gut respectively. There is usually a small opening at the top for ventilation. As Yahgan paints were not waterproof, a single mask could be adorned to represent many characters by the simple expedient of washing and repainting it. 535

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As to the characters represented by the Yahgan, in fig. 92, *a*, is the rainbow, distinguished by broad red, white, and black bands; *b* has alternate red and white stripes, and it represents a smelt-like fish. In fig. 93, *a*, is a model of the *halifpasko* ghost mask, while *b* represents the sea-lion. The wearers of these masks painted their bodies and limbs with similar decorative patterns.

[[illegible]]

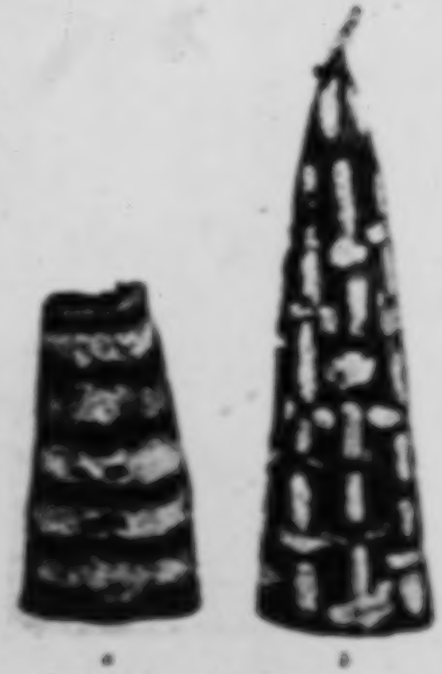

Fig. 93.—Model Yahgan dance masks.
Height of *b*, 10 in. (14/2362)

Religion

Although it has been repeatedly stated on excellent authority that the Yahgan had no real religion, I think it definitely established that they had religious beliefs and practices. 771

The Yahgan world was peopled by innumerable unseen beings: ghosts (*kashpig*) of departed shamans, spirits of the sea, the rocks, and the trees. These people, for the greater part, were malicious by nature, resentful of intrusion on their privacy, and, when seen by man, terrifying in aspect. Solitary travelers might suddenly find themselves facing a fierce spirit across the light of his camp-fire. 776

776 and might be seized and done to death. However, the shaman usually had power over demons of this type and could give protection.

Apart from and above these lesser spirits was the great *Watauinewa*, described by Koppers (1925). This supreme being, though not concerned with creation, was the master of all. He sent the great flood in days long past, he causes death, he controls the game and fish supply, he is perfect and almighty. To him prayers were offered in sickness, grief, and thanksgiving, for this was not an aloof god normally forgetful of the affairs of mankind. Rather he was a supreme dispenser of justice, and he always punished the wicked.

THE SHAMAN

756 Among the Yahgan both medicine-men and medicine-women existed and played an important part in the community. Supernatural powers were attained by certain individuals thought to have command over a natural spirit and the ghosts of departed witch-doctors. Thus dowered they could either kill or cure the individual and could affect the well-being of the community by controlling the weather or the food supply.

755 Disease, as among many primitive folk, they accredited to causes no less concrete than wounds. Hence the shaman must work his cure by removing some foreign object lodged in the body of the patient through accident or malice. Usually the doctor, after much massage, manipulation, and incantation, would triumphantly produce a stone or some other object, which he claimed to have extracted from the sufferer. The cures actually wrought can be attributed to the often beneficial results of the massage and to the healing power of suggestion.

756 According to Koppers (1925), the shaman assumed his function as the result of a "call" coming to either a man or a woman. This inner vocation took the form of a dream in which friendly relations were established with natural spirits and with the ghosts of dead shamans. After several such dreams a personal guardian spirit would be established. To the men a sort of shaman's school was open, but women were barred from this because they had not passed the men's final initiation. During the period of this school dreams were encouraged by rigorous training, much practice was given in the necessary sleight-of-hand tricks, and the proper chants were memorized. The curious spectacle of a man walking on hot